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ANGLICANS IN CHINA

A History of the
Zhonghua Shenggong Hui
(Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hwei)

by

G.F.S. Gray

with editorial revision by

Martha Lund Smalley

The Episcopal China Mission History Project

1996

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

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Paul L. Ward
Charles H. Long

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Editor's foreword

For more than twenty years, G.F.S. Gray was a part of the history of the Anglican Church in China. He served under the Church Missionary Society in Guilin, Guangxi Province during the early 1930s, then taught at Central Theological School in Nanjing. Later years brought him to other areas of China, including Beijing and Wuchang, where he served under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the American Church Mission respectively.

The length and breadth of Gray's personal involvement with the Anglican Church in China have given him the perspective and the passionate interest needed to sustain the years of research and writing that stand behind his manuscript "Anglicans in China: A History of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hwei." This manuscript, running to more than 250 single-spaced typed pages, is based on both English and Chinese sources documenting the Anglican effort in China and its context. In addition to printed sources, Gray had extensive discussions with Chinese Church leaders and personal memories upon which to draw. Even the compilation of the bibliography and indices for this manuscript was a noteworthy task, and from the many and varied strands of his sources Gray has woven the basic fabric of a comprehensive history of the Anglican Church in China. One can hope that the factual fabric presented in Gray's work will serve as a base for more intricate designs documenting various dimensions of the Anglican Church in China and the people who formed it.

Full, if rather poor quality, photocopies of the original typescript of Gray's work, annotated in his aged handwriting, are available in the Special Collections Department of the Yale Divinity School Library and at the Episcopal Church Archives in Austin, Texas. Unable to find a publisher for his work, Francis Gray deposited a copy of the manuscript at Lambeth Place Library in London, and provided a copy to his friend Paul Ward for deposit in the United States. At the instigation of Paul Ward, Leslie Fairfield, and Charles Long, this condensed version of Gray's massive manuscript has been prepared in order to make his work more widely available. It should be noted that a great many more facts and details are included in Gray's full manuscript than could be included in this condensed version.

While editing and condensing Gray's work, I have attempted to retain the "flavour" of his writing, as well as his British spelling conventions. Changing methods of romanization of the Chinese language lead to considerable complications in an historical work such as this. Gray was aware of the trend toward pinyin romanization and had begun to annotate his manuscript with alternate spellings for geographic and personal names. Given Gray's hope that his work would be for the benefit of Chinese Christians as much as for Westerners interested in Chinese Christianity, it seemed best to utilize modern conventions of spelling for the context of the story, so whenever it has been possible to locate the pinyin spelling of a Chinese geographic name in text elsewhere, pinyin has been used.¹ However, names of individuals and place names not located in a current atlas remain as Gray had spelled them in his original text. Chinese characters are provided for all Chinese names indexed in this condensed text (primarily names mentioned more than once). The index to this volume is very brief. More extensive indices of geographic names, and Western and Chinese personal names are included in Gray's original manuscript; these have additional Chinese characters provided in Gray's (sometimes indecipherable) handwriting.

The facts presented by Gray in his work are largely unfootnoted and have not been checked against the sources he used. In reading through some of the sources used, I noted small discrepancies of fact even among the sources, particularly among those of the memoir genre. In a very few cases I have supplied some information gleaned from additional sources to fill in noticeable gaps. A number of relevant sources came to light while we were working on this manuscript, and these have been added to the original bibliography, but

¹Pinyin spellings of place names have been taken from Chiao-min Hsieh and Jean Kan Hsieh, *China: A Provincial Atlas*, (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995).

no claims are made as to the exhaustiveness of the bibliography.

I would like to acknowledge the able assistance of my colleague Andrea Lamb in preparing this condensed version of Francis Gray's manuscript.

As noted above, Gray's work represents a basic fabric woven from diverse strands, with much effort. Even if the fabric should be imperfect or thin in its detail at any point, the fact of its existence is to be celebrated, for it can serve as a base for further work.

Martha Lund Smalley
Curator of the Day Missions Library
Yale Divinity School Library
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*Photographs taken from the collections of the China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library

Preface

by G.F.S. Gray

My aim in this book is not a socio-economic study or criticism of a part of the Christian mission, nor a psychological study of the motives and impulses of missionaries and local Churchpeople. Rather, this book is a factual record of a small part of the Christian mission, in what can be regarded as the greatest single country in the world.

The basic sources known to me are pitifully inadequate, whether in Chinese or English; but at least they are contemporary. I have written this account so that a story of much Christian devotion (possibly with warning lessons) should not just be forgotten. The work of the Western staff is preserved in the histories of the various missionary societies, but the Chinese Churchpeople, who played a big part, could too easily be forgotten. The whole picture should be seen.

It is a pity that this record should be written, not by a Chinese, but by a Westerner, even though one involved for more than twenty years. I have, however, used notes of conversations with a number of Chinese Christian leaders in the late 1940s, of opinions they expressed to me about the Church, and of information they gave me about it. These Christian leaders include Dr. Wei Cho-min (Francis), under whom I worked during my last period in China, Bishops Hsü Ki-song (Addison), Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel), Tsu Yu-yü (Y.Y.), Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.), and many others. I have consulted as well with Western missionaries from various countries involved in this effort. They are of course not responsible in any sense for this book or any part of it; but without what they told me it would be even more inadequate than it is.

However inadequate this account may be, the writer hopes that it may provoke more complete and better accounts. I should like to feel that this account is in its modest way a tribute of respect, admiration, and affection to those who worked in this part of the Church's world mission.

Overview and chronology of the period 1835-1910

A full text version of the history of the 1835 to 1910 period is available in Gray's original manuscript. Because of its massive length, and because this earlier period has been described more fully in other available histories, Gray's text covering the years 1835 to 1910 has been condensed into a skeletal chronology. Within this chronology, entries for a particular diocese always appear at a distinctive indentation; this is to facilitate the tracing of events occurring in a particular geographical area.

The history of Anglican Church work in China is complicated by the fact that various Anglican agencies, from various countries, began mission work at various times, and did not always cooperate with each other. For many years there was a basic geographic division of China into areas served by British agencies, by the American Church Mission, by the Church of England in Canada, and by the Chinese Church. Of the major British agencies, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) worked primarily in the southern provinces and the extreme west while the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) worked in northern China. The American work (ACM) centered on the provinces bordering the Yangtze River. In 1907, the Canadian Church was requested by the Anglican community in China to sponsor work in a relatively untouched area of China and thereafter concentrated its work in Henan Province. The Chinese Church early on independently sponsored work in Shaanxi Province.

Further complicating description of Anglican work in China is the fact that boundaries of the dioceses changed over the years as the Church grew. Dioceses that covered vast areas in the earliest years shrank in geographical size as outer portions became dioceses in their own right. Diagrams in Appendix A show which dioceses were originally of British origin and of American origin, the dates of their establishment, and the ways in which the diocesan structure changed over the years. The dioceses of British origin were: Victoria/Hong Kong/South China, North China, Mid China/Zhejiang, West China/East Sichuan/West Sichuan, Shandong, Fujian, Guangxi-Hunan, and Yun-Kuei. The dioceses of American origin were: Shanghai, Hankou, and Anqing. Henan Diocese was of Canadian origin, and Shaanxi Diocese was of Chinese origin.²

In his original manuscript, G.F.S. Gray described work in the various geographical areas of China under the heading of the diocese that eventually came to exist in that area. British work in the Shanghai area in the 1850s, for example, is described under Shanghai, even though at that time such work would have been under the jurisdiction of the British Diocese of Victoria, not the American Diocese of Shanghai.

M.L.S.

²It should be emphasized, however, that Anglican missionaries from various Western countries served throughout China, without strict correlation to the national origin of the diocese in which they served.

Chronology of the period 1835-1910

In the chronology that follows, entries are listed under the following abbreviations:

→ General (prior to formation of dioceses or relating to various areas)

{HK} Hong Kong diocese (Victoria)

{FU} Fujian (Fukien) diocese

{ZH} Zhejiang (Chekiang) diocese

{SI} Shanghai diocese

{SG} Shandong (Shantung) diocese

{NC} North China diocese

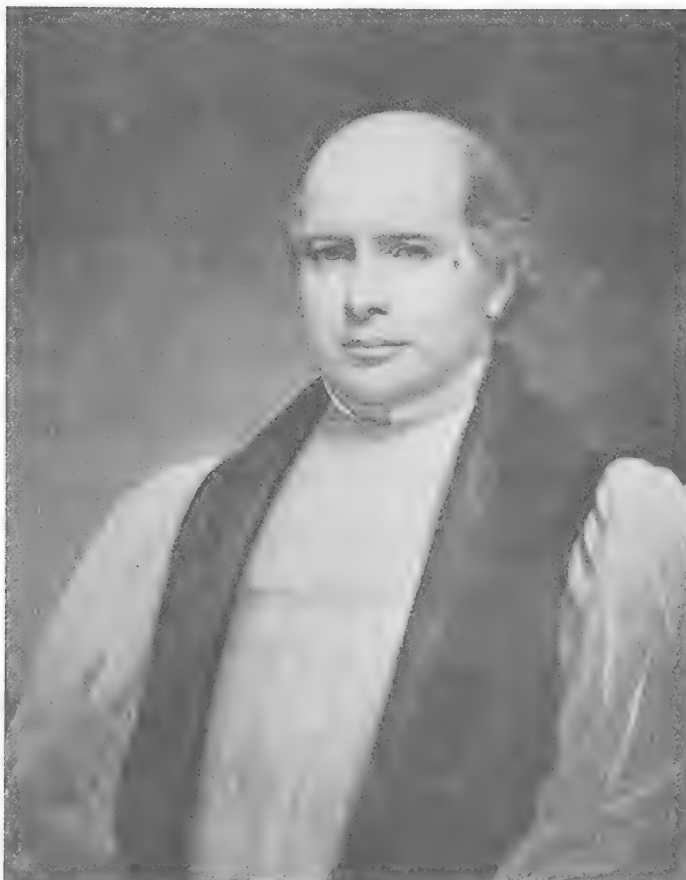
{HA} Hankou (Hankow) diocese

{O} Other dioceses

- 1835 → American clergy Henry Lockwood and Francis Hanson arrived in Guangzhou. They found that they could do little there because of suspicion and hostility.
- 1836 → An edict appeared in Guangzhou forbidding Chinese to become Christians and forbidding the dissemination of Christianity. Lockwood and Hanson moved to Singapore, and after few months, to Djakarta [then Batavia] where they devoted themselves to learning Chinese and Malay. They also began a school for Chinese children.
→ Edward Burnard Squire, officer in the British Navy, was sent to Singapore by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to work among the Chinese there and make journeys along the China coast. Soon forced to return to England because of wife's health and war between China and Britain [first "Opium War" 1839-1842].
- 1837 → American clergyman William Jones Boone arrived at Djakarta. Lockwood and Hanson returned to America, for reasons of health.
- 1840 → Boone went to Macao for reasons of health.
- 1840-1842 → Vincent Stanton a British freelance missionary off the China coast.
- 1841 → Boone moved to Xiamen [Hsiamen], Fujian.
- 1842 → Treaty of Nanjing. Five ports opened to foreign residence: Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai
- 1843 → Boone returned to U.S. to recruit more workers; he brought with him two Chinese, one of whom was Huang Kuang-ts'ai.
{HK} Vincent Stanton appointed chaplain to the English colony in Hong Kong, a portion of his stipend provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Built a church and established an institution [later St. Paul's College] to train Chinese catechists and teachers.
- 1844 → House of Bishops appointed Boone Bishop in Xiamen and other parts of China for the American Church Mission (ACM).
→ Boone left for China, accompanied by two clergy and their wives and three women teachers.
→ George Smith and Thomas McClatchie sent by CMS to visit Hong Kong and the five Treaty ports.
- 1845 → Boone and company arrived in Hong Kong. Decided to settle in Shanghai, as instructed by ACM committee, so Anglican beginning in Xiamen never developed.
→ Smith and McClatchie arrived in Shanghai where McClatchie eventually settled. After continuing his tour of the Treaty ports, Smith concluded that the CMS should begin work in Shanghai and Ningbo, and, if possible, also at Fuzhou. Smith reported to the CMS committee that China needed a body of preaching missionaries, not primarily teachers. This was in contrast to the ACM, which stressed the importance of schools.
{SI} McClatchie rented a house within the walls of the old city of Shanghai; could preach fluently in Shanghai dialect by end of 1847; had translated parts of Church of England prayer book.
- 1846 {SI} Boys' school begun by Bishop Boone; boys taught mainly in English by Emma Jones and Mary Morse. Boone also involved in translation of New Testament. ACM began evangelistic work - preaching, distribution of tracts. Huang Kuang-ts'ai baptised by Bishop Boone.

- 1848 {ZH} CMS missionaries Robert Henry Cobbold from Cambridge and William Armstrong Russell from Dublin came to Ningbo.
{SI} Holy Trinity Church in Shanghai opened to be parish church for Church of England business community.
- 1849 {HK} Smith consecrated Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, with oversight of all British Anglican work in the Far East. Until 1861 there was little work directly with Chinese in Hong Kong, primarily chaplaincy work among Europeans.
{FU} CMS decided to begin work in Fuzhou. Work in Fujian was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, until 1906.
- 1850 {FU} Dr. William Welton and Robert David Jackson arrived in Fuzhou. Welton, considered the father of the Fuzhou Mission, returned to England in 1856 for reasons of health.
{ZH} Frederick Foster Gough came to join Russell in Ningbo.
{SI} St. Paul's Church opened as centre for CMS work. Christ Church consecrated, first regular church building of ACM.
- 1851 {ZH} First baptisms by Anglicans in Zhejiang - a tailor, Pao Hsueh-i, and a servant of Russell's, Hou Yueh-li. Early years in Zhejiang more promising than in Fujian.
{SI} First Chinese baptised by CMS missionaries in Shanghai - three blind men.
{SI} Three additional missionaries joined ACM: R. Nelson, his wife, and Lydia Fay. Emma Jones began boarding school for girls.
{SI} Huang Kuang-ts'ai ordained as deacon.
- 1852 {FU} Jackson moved to Ningbo; Welton remained until 1856, preaching, distributing the Chinese New Testament, helping opium smokers.
{ZH} Russell married adopted daughter of Mary Aldersey, an Anglican who had started the first school for girls in China in Ningbo, 1844. Aldersey later transferred part of her work to the CMS committee.
- 1853 {SI} Bishop of Hong Kong George Smith made a primary visitation of CMS work in Shanghai. American Anglicans were disturbed that CMS work did not fall under jurisdiction of the American bishop in Shanghai, William Boone.
- 1853-1854 {SI} Church work made difficult through Shanghai area by Tai'ping Rebellion.
- 1854 {FU} School started by Welton.
{ZH} Romanized Chinese script devised by Russell and others used in Anglican schools in Zhejiang.
{SI} CMS missionary John Shaw Burdon arrived in Shanghai; did extensive itineration work outside of Shanghai.
- 1855 {FU} Two additional CMS missionaries arrived: Francis M'Caw and Matthew Fearnley.
{ZH} Attempts made to begin work outside of Ningbo.
{SI} Situation improved in Shanghai. Robert N. Nelson in charge in Shanghai. Evangelistic centre established in Chiangwan for which Huang Kuang-ts'ai had responsibility.
- 1856 {SI} Another Chinese ordained as deacon, Tong (Tung) Chu-kiung of Suzhou - first graduate of the mission school to be ordained.
- 1857 {SI} Edward W. Syle started a school for the blind.
- 1858 {FU} Additional CMS missionary arrived, George Smith, (not the bishop). Until 1860 work proceeded very slowly in Fuzhou; CMS considered abandoning Fuzhou to concentrate on Zhejiang. Smith urged perseverance.
{ZH} George Evans Moule of CMS began work in Ningbo. Episcopal visit by Bishop George Smith; conference held including Chinese staff. At their insistence it was decided to begin work in Hangzhou.
{SI} William Henry Collins joined Burdon. John Hobson chaplain to British community until his death in 1862.
{SI} Work begun in Changshu (Zangzok) by Channing M. Williams and Huang Kuang-ts'ai.
- 1859 {ZH} J.S. Burdon made a visit of investigation to Hangzhou. Early efforts were not hindered. CMS sent catechists Pao Hsueh-i and Stephen Ch'en, and English priest Thomas Samuel Fleming. Burdon requested by Chinese authorities to leave during second Opium War.
{SI} ACM and CMS working in Shanghai without much co-ordination. Bishop of Victoria

- proposed that CMS focus on work in Zhejiang province and ACM in Jiangsu province (including Shanghai). CMS London committee rejected proposal.
- 1860 {FU} W.H. Collins, priest and medical doctor, opened dispensary.
 {ZH} William Armstrong Russell, Frederick Foster Gough, and G.E. Moule in Ningbo; worked with opium addicts.
 {ZH} Burdon and Fleming began work in Yuyao near Shaoxing until forced to withdraw to Ningbo by Tai'ping rebels.
- 1861 {FU} Four Chinese baptised. Situation improved rapidly for a time.
 {ZH} Arthur Evans Moule came to Zhejiang. After capture of Ningbo by Tai'pings in December, Moule and an American missionary had charge of an asylum for refugees. Disturbance disrupted progress of four Chinese preparing for ordination.
 {SI} Henry M. Parker and Dudley D. Smith left Shanghai to settle in Yantai (Chefoo), Shandong.
 {SG} Parker and Smith and their wives sent to begin work in Yantai (Chefoo); they soon moved to a nearby village. About six months after his arrival Parker, along with an American Baptist missionary, Holmes, was beheaded by Tai'ping rebels.
- 1861-1865 {SI} ACM work suffered because of Civil War in U.S. Within a few years the ACM mission was reduced from twelve clergy, four candidates for orders, and twelve women missionaries to two priests, one deacon, one ordinand, two women missionaries.
- 1862 {HK} Thomas Stringer (CMS) sent to begin regular mission work among Chinese of Hong Kong. Diocesan Native Female School started with Miss Baxter in charge; funded largely by European residents of Hong Kong.
 {FU} CMS Irishman John Richard Wolfe arrived.
 {ZH} Burdon, Russell, and Fleming left Ningbo.
 {SG} Dudley Smith returned to U.S. with his daughter following his wife's death.
 {NC} Burdon of CMS was first Anglican missionary to settle in Beijing. Samuel I.J. Schereshevsky arrived later in year, seeking to improve his knowledge of the Mandarin dialect.
- 1863 {HK} Lo Hsin-yuan ordained deacon.
 {FU} Smith died, leaving to Wolfe's care 13 baptised Christians and five catechumens; Wolfe soon forced to Hong Kong for health reasons. With no Anglican missionaries remaining in Fuzhou, Churchpeople were shepherded by catechist Huang Ch'iu-teh.
 {SI} Collins followed Burdon to Beijing; Shanghai without a CMS missionary for some years.
 {SI} Huang Kuang-ts'ai made first Chinese Anglican priest, given charge of Christ Church.
 {NC} Burdon joined by Thomas McClatchie and Charles Atkinson, both of whom soon left, and W.H. Collins. Burdon opened a school.
 {NC} Dr. J.A. Stewart, first SPG missionary sent to China, settled in Beijing. Joined by young priest F.R. Mitchell.
- 1864 {HK} Bishop Smith resigned; replaced by Charles Alford.
 {FU} Damage was done to CMS property in an outbreak of popular fury against a non-Anglican mission. Wolfe, returning from Hong Kong, obtained compensation from Chinese authorities and buildings were rebuilt. Arthur William Cribb arrived in Fuzhou. For several years there was relatively rapid expansion of the Church in Fujian, largely through the efforts of Wolfe. Work was begun in Lianjiang, Luoyuan, Gutian, Ningde, and Xiapu.
 {FU} Girls' school opened in Fuzhou by CMS - only Anglican organised educational work in area.
 {ZH} Conditions began to improve after Tai'ping turmoil. Work begun in Hangzhou by G.E. Moule and catechist Tsang.
 {SI} Bishop William Jones Boone died in Shanghai. Boone can be considered as much as any the founder of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. No successor consecrated for two years after his death. Elliot H. Thomson and Huang Kuang-ts'ai continued the work in Shanghai and spread it to Suzhou.
 {NC} Stewart recalled by SPG committee in London for purchasing a site for the mission work without authorization. Mitchell went to Shanghai.



William Jones Boone, first bishop of
the American Church Mission in China



Samuel I.J. Schereshevsky in his study, 1902

- 1864 {NC} By this time, Burdon and Schereshevsky had translated most of the Prayer Book into Mandarin and were working on translation of the Bible. They were part of a committee that also included McClatchie (CMS), Joseph Edkins (London Missionary Society), W.A.P. Martin (American Presbyterian), and Henry Blodget (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions). Schereshevsky spoke at CMS evangelistic meetings.
- 1865 {HK} Charles Frederick Warren continued work of Stringer among Chinese.
 {ZH} Opium refuge opened in Hangzhou.
 {SI} C.M. Williams elected missionary bishop to China at General Convention in U.S.
- 1866 {HK} St. Stephen's Church built.
 {SI} Wu Hong-ü joined staff of American mission; later ordained. Dispensary started by E.H. Thomson and Wu.
- 1868 {FU} Attempt to start work in Nanping (then Yenp'ing) met with opposition and was abandoned.
 {FU} Bishop Alford paid his first episcopal visit in Fujian, confirmed ninety persons, ordained senior catechist Huang Ch'iu-teh (Wang Kiu-taik) to the diaconate. Three years later Huang became the first Chinese to be priested by Anglicans in Fujian.
 {NC} ACM missionary Augustus E. Höhing and Schereshevsky purchased a temple and changed it into a chapel.
 {NC} Bishop Williams visited in North China but decided against developing greatly ACM work in Beijing. Höhing returned with Williams to Yangtze area.
 Schereshevsky continued to devote most of his time to translation.
 {HA} Bishop Williams went to begin work in Wuchang with Höhing and Yen Yün-ching. Höhing and Yen engaged in evangelistic work and started a school for boys.
- 1869 {SI} New building for Holy Trinity Church opened, centre for chaplaincy work among foreign residents; cost contributed largely by British business community. CMS work in Shanghai continued on restricted basis but Shanghai was not an easy area for the direct evangelism work favoured by the British.
 {SI} American work in Shanghai had a new beginning following difficulties of the American Civil War and the Tai'ping Rebellion. Bishop Williams took a tour of inspection up the Yangtze. Boys' boarding school in Shanghai reopened in 1868 under Lydia Fay; it came to be called Baird Hall. Yen Yün-ching ordained to diaconate by Bishop Williams - one of the outstanding early Chinese leaders of the Church.
 {NC} CMS opened work in Yungching, fifty miles south of Beijing; missionary W.H. Collins forced to leave but work later flourished in this area.
 {HA} Work began in Hankou: evangelistic centre and day school. S.R.J. Hoyt and wife joined the work in central China.
 {HA} William Jones Boone (son of Bishop Boone) and wife came to Wuchang. Yen and Boone ordained to priesthood by Bishop Williams.
- 1870-71 {FU} Organized movement against Christian missions led to destruction of churches.
- 1871 {SI} 150 communicants connected with the ACM in Shanghai and central China; 261 pupils in ACM schools.
 {NC} Schereshevsky and Burdon's translation of the Prayer Book completed and printed, combining English and American usages.
 {HA} Bishop Boone Memorial School for boys begun in Wuchang.
- 1872 {HK} Bishop Alford resigned. A Bishopric of North China had been created to oversee British Anglican work north of the 28th parallel of latitude. Alford was thereby deprived of much of his responsibility, left only with supervision of Hong Kong and Fujian.
 {FU} Mahood baptised about fifty Chinese in Fuqing (Hokkiang) who wished to switch from Methodism to Anglicanism. Though Wolfe disapproved of this action on his return from furlough and withdrew the catechists appointed by Mahood, this group in Fuqing persisted in wanting to associate with the Anglicans.
 {FU} Following his return from furlough in England, Wolfe worked largely through Chinese catechists and found it an effective method.

- 1873 {ZH} William Armstrong Russell consecrated in England to head new bishopric of North China, which included all of China north of the 28th parallel, including Zhejiang. The American bishop in Shanghai was ignored in this design.
{ZH} Russell returned to China.
{NC} Burdon left Beijing for England
- 1873-76 {FU} Another wave of anti-Christian activity in Fujian.
- 1874 {HK} J.S. Burdon consecrated Bishop of Hong Kong.
{SI} C.M. Williams had been bishop of ACM missions in Japan and China and resided primarily in Japan. When the jurisdiction was divided, Williams chose to continue in Japan. Shanghai was without ACM bishop for three years.
{SG} Charles Perry Scott and Miles Greenwood of the SPG began work in Yantai; joined by A. Capel in 1877.
{HA} Medical work begun in Wuhan by Dr. Albert C. Bunn.
- 1875 {FU} Catechist Lin Shan-ch'eng began settled work in Jian'ou (Kianning) but soon forced out by opposition.
{FU} Society for Promoting Female Education in the East began a girls' boarding school in Fuzhou.
{ZH} Shen En-teh ordained, first deacon in Zhejiang.
{NC} W.H. Collins joined in Beijing by CMS colleague William Brereton.
{HA} Boarding school for girls begun in Wuchang in memory of American churchwoman Jane Bohlen.
- 1876 {HK} Edmund Davys came to Hong Kong with six young men who were to be trained at St. Paul's College there. Difficulties arose and the plan was not carried out. Davys took charge of developing outposts in Guangdong.
{FU} Deacon T'ang Tan-mien (Cheng) began settled work in Xiapu (Funing) but Christianity made little advance.
{FU} Bishop Burdon visited Fujian and ordained four Chinese as deacons. At the time of Burdon's visit, there were 1,440 adherents to the faith, nearly all from the less privileged sections of society.
{FU} CMS sent two new clergy: Robert Warren Stewart and Llewellyn Lloyd.
{ZH} Shen En-teh priested along with English clergy W. Brereton and Joseph Charles Hoare. Three Chinese deacons ordained: Wang Yu-kuang, Hsia Kuang-yao and Ch'en Tsu-hsing. Hoare, former scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, started college in Ningbo. Bishop Russell oversaw building of the college, to be known as Trinity College, Ningbo.
{ZH} Local church committees organised to represent Churchpeople in Ningbo.
- 1876-1879 {SI} ACM boys' boarding school enlarged with opening of Doane Hall and divinity school.
{NC} Great famine in No. China. Emphasis on relief rather than evangelism; work begun in Lunghuatieu.
- 1877 {SI} Schereshevsky elected ACM bishop. He emphasised the need for establishment of a school, college, and seminary for the training of clergy. Land was purchased for an educational centre on the outskirts of Shanghai. Schereshevsky continued Mandarin translation work as well.
- 1878 {FU} Another attempt to begin work in Jian'ou aborted.
{ZH} Christians in the Tachiench'i district persecuted for their refusal to subscribe to pagan religious processions. Since treaties guaranteed religious freedom in China, Anglican leaders asked British consul to take the matter up with the Chinese authorities and repression ceased.
{HA} Elizabeth Bunn Hospital for women and children opened in Wuchang; Dr. Bunn returned to U.S.
- 1878-1879 {SG} Scott and Capel traveled throughout North China distributing relief during great famine.
- 1879 {ZH} Anglicans in Zhejiang had 656 adherents (495 baptised, 225 communicants), four Chinese clergy and six foreign clergy.
{SI} Schereshevsky laid the cornerstone of what, though it started as a middle school, was to become St. John's College, and later, St. John's University.
{SI} Work outside Shanghai continued. It was hoped to set up a chain of Church centres along the Yangtze from Shanghai to Wuhu. Several dispensaries and day schools established.

- {SG} SPG work begun in Tai'an and Pingyin.
 {NC} CMS and ACM had withdrawn from No. China, leaving work to SPG.
 {HA} Boone and Yen sent to new St. John's College in Shanghai. W.S. Sayres appointed to work at Wuchang, in view of the great shortage of staff. Josephine Roberts appointed to Jane Bohlen School.
 {HA} Yang Yung-tzu ordained as deacon in Shanghai and appointed to Hankou. Work in Wuhan prospered due to presence of well-qualified Chinese workers such as Yen and Yang.
- 1880 {ZH} Following the death of Bishop Russell, G.E. Moule was consecrated to succeed him with the title of "Bishop in Mid-China" and jurisdiction not in North China but, for English Anglicans, in Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Anhui, Hubei, and most of Sichuan.
 {SG} Scott summoned to England to be consecrated as bishop of newly formed diocese of North China.
- 1881 {FU} Dr. Birdwood Van Someren Taylor and English priest Martin settled in Xiapu.
 {ZH} Dr. Duncan Main received charge of the opium refuge in Hangzhou.
 {SI} St. Luke's Hospital established. Dr. Henry Boone, son of Bishop Boone, supervised medical work in Shanghai and outposts. He also started to train medical students, the beginning of St. John's Medical School.
 {SI} Bishop Schereshevsky suffered a sunstroke, which left him paralysed, in Wuchang.
 {NC} Bishop Scott first visited Beijing and confirmed 18 persons including two catechists Chang Ching-lan and Ch'en Pao-k'un.
- 1882 {FU} Local church committees were formed in some of the more advanced pastorates. District church councils were formed of representatives from the local committees, with a provincial council at top. First meeting of provincial council discussed footbinding, lawsuits, the duty of Christian giving, need for self-support.
 {ZH} First steps taken toward establishing a system of Church councils with delegates from the various parishes.
 {SG} First diocesan conference of North China diocese (later divided into Shandong and North China diocese), held in Yantai.
- 1883 {HK} Lo Hsin-yuan retired. His work was continued by deacon Kuang I-hsiu (Matthew), who was in charge of St. Stephen's Church and did evangelistic work in Kowloon.
 {FU} B.V.S. Taylor began medical work and trained medical evangelists. Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) sent woman missionary to Fujian.
 {FU} Theological college opened in the foreign settlement on the island of Nantai in Fuzhou under R.W. Stewart. Earlier attempt had failed due to mob violence. Mrs. Stewart trained wives of students.
 {SI} Bishop Schereshevsky retired but continued translation work in Tokyo. William J. Boone elected bishop.
 {NC} Headquarters of North China diocese moved from Yantai to Beijing.
 {HA} Arthur H. Locke appointed to work in Wuchang; from 1885 worked in Hankou.
- 1884 {FU} Brief war between France and China had side effect of anti-foreign feeling and ill-treatment of Christians associated with foreigners. Such ill-treatment was not uncommon in Fujian.
- 1885 {ZH} Hospital opened in Hangzhou.
 {SI} Orphanage for unwanted girls set up in connection with St. Mary's girls school at Jessfield. It was partly supported from funds raised by the girls' handiwork sent to the U.S.A.
- 1885-1886 {SG} Greenwood and Francis Henry Sprent spent winter in inns at Tai'an and Pingyin.
 {NC} Sprent ordained deacon in Beijing.
- 1886 {HK} Dr. Edward George Horder began a men's hospital in Beihai (Pakhoi). Dr. William Wriothsley Colborne began itinerant medical work.
 {FU} Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) sent seven women missionaries to Fujian.
 {SI} Huang Kuang-ts'ai died. Yen Yün-ching, an outstanding figure in the Church at this

- time, continued on the staff of St. John's.
- {SI} Francis L. Hawks Pott arrived in China to join staff of St. John's. Potts married Huang Su-ngo, head of St. Mary's Hall girls' school.
- {SG} Greenwood went to take charge of work in Yantai.
- {NC} St. Agnes School for girls opened in Beijing; discontinued after a time.
- {HA} Work begun in Shashi and soon afterward in Yichang (both up river from Wuhan) by Herbert Sowerby and Hsia Chin-pang.
- 1887 {HK} CMS first sent women missionaries.
- {FU} Wolfe appointed archdeacon of Fuzhou.
- {FU} Work prospered in Lianjiang due to exceptionally good catechist, Ch'en Hsin-an, who was made deacon in 1887. His wife had a girls' school and a weekly class for Biblewomen.
- {SG} Sprent and Henry John Benham-Brown attempted to settle in Tai'an; Sprent eventually rented a house.
- {NC} Property bought for mission centre in Lunghuatien.
- {O} West China: Members of the "Cambridge Seven" started work in Sichuan province (Anglicans serving under the interdenominational China Inland Mission). William Wharton Cassels began work in Langzhong, chief town in North Sichuan.
- 1888 {FU} Dublin University Mission began work in association with CMS.
- {FU} Church councils with missionaries as chairmen held in the eleven districts of the mission. CMS made annual grants to these councils, which were to be reduced at a fixed rate each year as local Church became more able to finance itself.
- {FU} Special effort made to extend work into northwest of Fujian. Two medical evangelists began dispensary in Jianou, faced much opposition, but eventually authorities issued proclamation recognizing right of missions to rent and buy property.
- {SG} Benham-Brown rented house in Pingyin. Shih Hung-chang in charge of work there as catechist.
- {NC} Chang Ching-lan ordained deacon; first Chinese ordained by Anglicans in North China.
- {HA} First women doctors came to Elizabeth Bunn Hospital in Wuchang; Dr. Marie Haslet and Dr. Huang Chi'ung-hsien. Hospital closed soon after.
- {O} West China: James Heywood Horsburgh (CMS) visited Sichuan, sought permission to start mission.
- 1889 {FU} Work prospered in Putian due to catechist Ch'en Tsung-hsin, who was ordained in 1889.
- {NC} Bishop Scott returned from England with four new missionaries: Frank L. Norris, G.D. Iliff, Dr. Alice Marston, Florence Jackson. This began a period of expansion.
- {HA} New and larger Holy Nativity Church consecrated in Wuchang.
- 1890 {NC} Brereton sent to work among British Anglicans in Tianjin.
- {HA} Anti-foreign riots; Anglican mission house in Yichang burnt.
- 1891 {FU} Revision of translation of Bible into colloquial language completed by L. Lloyd.
- {SI} Bishop Boone died in Hankou from typhoid fever. Frederick R. Graves succeeded him as bishop.
- {O} West China: Horsburgh and party of missionaries, including several single women, set up mission along unusual lines, living purely on Chinese food, wearing Chinese clothes, in old-style Chinese houses; focused on itineration.
- 1892 {HK} Chaplain for European community financed by St. John's Cathedral congregation rather than Hong Kong government after this point.
- {FU} District of Fuqing divided into two parishes, each with a Chinese clergyman in charge, with 18 and 20 congregations respectively.
- {HA} New and larger St. Paul's Church consecrated in Hankou.
- 1893 {FU} Magistrate in Fuqing hostile to Christianity; Christians persecuted.
- 1894 {FU} Members of a vegetarian sect in Guzhang area attacked Christians in several villages. Sect

grew and gave increasing trouble to Christians and general population.

{NC} Norris took charge of work in Tianjin

{O} West China: Christian centres established in Mianyang, Wanxian, and elsewhere.

{HA} New centre started by Chinese evangelist in Hanchuan.

1895 {HK} Leprosy hospital opened by Horder, believed to be the first of its kind in China.

{FU} Stewart, his wife, five children, and seven women missionaries attacked by a band of vegetarians while on respite in hill village of Huashan - all but two children and one woman murdered. The incident had the effect of increasing local interest in Christianity.

{SG} G.D. Iliff resided in Pingyin and worked in surrounding villages.

{HA} After 1895, there was in Wuhan, as elsewhere, increased demand for modern education, which was available virtually only in mission institutions. In Wuchang, St. Paul's Divinity School was opened on the Boone compound, and a new St. Hilda's girls' boarding school replaced the earlier Jane Bohlen School.

{O} West China: Anti-foreign riots led to much property damage and martyrdom of several Christians.

{O} West China: New Diocese of West China cut off from Diocese of Mid-China. William Wharton Cassels appointed bishop by Archbishop of Canterbury.

{O} Anqing: Chinese deacon worked from a rented building in Anqing.

1896 {NC} Full dispensary opened in Beijing, joining the Legation chapel, the Church of Our Saviour, boys' and girls' schools, printing shop, and several residences.

{O} Anqing: Edward Merrins began medical work at Anqing.

{O} West China: First baptisms by CMS missionaries in Sichuan. CMS set up mission centres in various towns and worked among Tibetans.

1896-1900 {FU} Forty-six new missionaries sent to Fujian by CMS. Fujian was the chief focus for CMS work in China. The mission established over 600 primary schools, leper settlements, schools for the blind, hospitals.

1897 → First conference of bishops in China. Present were F.R. Graves (Shanghai), C.P. Scott (North China), G.E. Moule (Mid China), W.W. Cassels (West China), C.J. Corfe (Korea). The Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong was not represented as it was about to fall vacant.

{HK} Bishop Burdon resigned because his health was no longer equal to the necessary extensive travelling throughout Fujian. Controversies during his episcopate concerned the proper Chinese term for "God", the propriety of the adoption of Chinese dress by women missionaries, and Burdon's belief that in China bread and wine should be replaced by rice and tea in Holy Communion. Burdon was not popular among British residents in Hong Kong. His main contributions were his promotion of evangelistic extension and his share in the translation of the Prayer Book and Bible into Mandarin.

{FU} B.V.S. Taylor established hospital in Putian (Hinghua). Fujian diocese had a relatively large number of women missionaries, many of whom were involved in training Biblewomen.

{ZH} Sixteen Chinese clergy responsible for almost all pastoral work. First meeting of a regular synod composed of Chinese and European clergy and lay representatives; synod was at first mainly a deliberative and consultative body. Passed resolutions concerning processions and feasts in honour of idols, ancestor worship, the admission of catechumens, and the lawfulness of trading by the clergy.

{SI} School of the Holy Way, a training school for Biblewomen opened in Shanghai at Jessfield.

{NC} Harry Vine Norman and Charles Robinson sent to live in Yungching. Previously Church work there had been in charge of a subdeacon, Ch'en Pao-k'un. About this time the people of North China as a whole, especially the less educated, seemed to become much more responsive to the Faith than they had ever been before.

{NC} A clergy training school was set up in Beijing under the guidance of Roland Allen.



St. Paul's Divinity School, Wuchang (1898)



Chinese and Western clergy in the Shanghai District (1898)

- 1898 {HK} Joseph Charles Hoare consecrated as bishop. He arranged for a chaplain to provide pastoral care to British residents in Guangzhou, Xiamen, and Shantou. Work among the Chinese in the Hong Kong diocese remained relatively small apart from the work in Fujian. Hoare laid plans for forming a separate diocese in Fujian, though this did not happen before his death.
- {SI} Yen Yün-ching died. He was perhaps the most outstanding of all early Chinese Anglicans. In 1894 Yen, at the invitation of the Anti-Opium Society, toured the United Kingdom, speaking against the opium trade. After that he toured the U.S.A. on behalf of Church work. He also prepared several textbooks on scientific subjects. Yen and his wife were the only Chinese delegates at the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1890.
- {O} Anqing: Carl F. Lindstrom joined work in Anqing. Franz E. Lund opened a boys' boarding school in Wuhu.
- {O} West China: Riots and disturbances involving Christian missions following the coup d'état by the Empress.
- 1899 {HK} On Hong Kong island, St. Stephen's Church flourished with Kuang I-hsiu in charge. There were also a church boarding school for rescued slave girls, an Anglo-Chinese boys' day school, a few primary schools, and a training class for teachers and evangelists.
- {FU} Another outbreak of anti-Christian violence in Fujian.
- {ZH} Shen En-teh, first Chinese ordained in Zhejiang, died. He left nine children, of whom seven were engaged in full time service of the Church.
- {SI} New Science Hall opened at St. John's College, said to be the first building erected in China for the special purpose of teaching natural science.
- {SG} Greenwood died in Yantai. At this time Benham-Brown, his wife, and Frederick Jones were in Tai'an; Henry J. Mathews and Sidney Malcolm Wellbye Brooks were in Pingyin; no Chinese clergy. Returning to Pingyin after a visit in Tai'an, Brooks was hacked to pieces by marauding members of the "Big Knives Society". The "Big Knives" moved northwards, changed their names to "Fists of Righteous Harmony", and eventually were known as the Boxers. Foreign staff was forced to withdraw to the coast and Christians in Tai'an and Pingyin were unshepherded for many months. The SPG refused to claim any compensation for the loss of life and property but British authorities insisted on the payment of an indemnity for the death of Brooks, and with this a memorial church, St. Stephen's, and a tablet were erected.
- {NC} Bad drought and famine in North China ascribed by the Boxers to the introduction of foreign ideas.
- {O} Guangxi-Hunan: Louis Byrde and his wife sought to begin work in Hunan, entering from the south. They were joined in Guilin by another priest, Percival John Laird, but, after a few months were advised to withdraw to Hong Kong, in view of Boxer troubles in the North.
- 1900 {HK} Mission centre established in Kowloon. Almshouses for the poor established by Kuang I-hsiu, who had retired to Kowloon.
- {ZH} Less trouble from the Boxers in Zhejiang; in the Chuchi district, the churches, mission houses, and houses of Christians were burnt down, but no lives lost.
- {NC} Mission staff in Beijing took refuge in the British Legation. Norris played a leading part in the defence of the legations against Boxer attacks. Henry V. Norman remained in Yungching, hoping to protect his flock, but was killed, along with Charles Robinson. Fifteen to eighteen of the local Anglican Christians were killed in the Yungching district. Two young men at the clergy training school, Wang Shu-t'ien and Lei Yü-ch'ün, showed conspicuous bravery in making the dangerous journey from Beijing to strengthen the Churchpeople in Yungching. The mission buildings in Beijing were almost totally destroyed. When law and order were eventually restored there was the difficult question of how to treat Churchpeople who had at least seemed to apostatise, but who had also in many cases genuinely suffered for the Faith, were penitent, and wished to return. Bishop Scott combined mercy with justice in an understanding way. Bishop Scott and the SPG held firmly that the mission should neither claim nor accept any financial compensation for loss

of life or property; claims were made by the British military authorities. The village of Wu Chiaying, local Boxer headquarters, was totally destroyed and the local magistrate gave the site to the Church. Mainly on the initiative of catechist Shih Hung-chang, eventually endorsed by Norris, a specifically Christian village was gradually built up here: it was given the name Hsin Min Chuang, New People's Village.

{HA} During the Boxer troubles most foreign staff withdrew to the coast; only Logan H. Roots and D. Trumbull Huntington remained in Hankou. Mission buildings were for the most part entrusted to local authorities for protection and little damage was done.

{O} Guangxi-Hunan: Byrde returned to Guilin and began settled work. The first baptism, in 1902, was of a young Moslem Söng Ch'ung-chen who was later to be the first Chinese priest in the Guangxi-Hunan diocese.

Surprisingly, nearly half of the earliest Christians were Moslems.

{O} West China: Anglican mission staff withdrew to the coast during Boxer troubles. Cassels in a shipwreck on the rapids on his return late in the year, but survived. Boxer troubles were felt to be followed by open doors in many places.

1901

{ZH} Three young doctors who had been trained in the Church institutions at Ningbo and Hangzhou set up what they called the Chinese CMS, to be worked and supported financially entirely by Chinese. Their rules included loyalty to the Anglican Church. They engaged two evangelists and worked in an area where no missionary had been. They met the same oppositions as missionaries did. Shen Tsai-sheng was its first president. In 1930 this work was incorporated into the diocesan Board of Missions.

{SI} American diocese or district of Shanghai was divided. The diocese of Shanghai henceforth included only Jiangsu, and a new diocese of Hankou was established. A Church conference was held, with representatives from all Anglican centres in Jiangsu and all proceedings in Chinese.

{NC} New diocese of Shandong (Shantung) created, removing the province of Shandong from the diocese of North China. Bishop Scott, relieved of this responsibility, took over from Corfe, Bishop of Korea, responsibility for Anglican work in the three eastern provinces (then called Manchuria).

{HA} New diocese of Hankou established as ACM diocese of Shanghai was divided. James Addison Ingle chosen bishop.

{HA} D.T. Huntington was instrumental in making Yichang a strong mission centre; he set up a Trade and Industrial school in 1907.

{O} Anqing: The area of the future diocese of Anqing, in Anhwei and Jiangxi, was at this time part of the newly formed diocese of Hankou.

1902

{HK} Mission centre established in Lienchou.

{SI} Mission centres established in Suzhou and Wuhu.

{HA} Work begun in Hunan province, at Changsha.

{O} West China: Ku Ho-ling the first Chinese ordained by Anglicans in Sichuan.

1903

{HK} St. Stephen's College established as a college preparatory school.

{SG} G.D. Iliff appointed bishop of the newly formed diocese of Shandong which had been split off from North China. Tai'an became his headquarters. Iliff saw the need for evangelization to be done by Chinese and set up a training school for catechists in Yantai.

{NC} First diocesan synod held. The establishment of a new diocese in the three eastern provinces (then called Manchuria) was recommended, but nothing came of it.

{HA} Bishop James Addison Ingle died at age 36; he had been more willing than most missionaries to let Chinese staff have responsibility, and from the first emphasised that the Church must be self-propagating, self-disciplining, and

financially self-maintaining. Logan H. Roots replaced Ingle as bishop. The Boone School in Wuchang, which had antecedents dating back to 1871, started offering post-secondary courses covering two years of college work.

{O} Anqing: A sizeable donation in memory of a deceased New York Churchman made possible the construction of a church and school in Wuhu. Work was begun in the treaty-port of Jiujiang by Lawrence B. Ridgely and deacon Hu Teh-kang (Richard). This was the first Anglican centre in the province of Jiangxi.

{O} West China: Hospital started in Langchang; schools had been started before. The lack of foreign workers to take all the opportunities that were forthcoming drove home the need to train Chinese staff, and a training institute, T'ien Tao, was started, headed by CMS missionary A. Lawrence.

{O} West China: Cecil Polhill worked among the Tibetans. Montagu Beauchamp was an ardent touring evangelist.

1904 {O} Guangxi-Hunan: Laird and Louis Byrde began work in Lingling (Yangshuo).

{O} West China: Work flourishing by this time, after a slow start in 1887.

1905 {NC} Three Chinese deacons ordained: Shih Hung-chang, Lei Ming-hsia, and Wang Shu-t'ien. Dr. Alice Marston ran a dispensary in Beijing from 1905. The SPG bought property for expansion of dispensary into a hospital; two Chinese doctors and Dr. Graham Aspland collaborated in this.

1906 {HK} CMS took over responsibility for Christ Church, Shameen, hitherto a chaplaincy church, to develop work among Chinese in Guangzhou area.

{HK} Bishop Hoare drowned in typhoon off Hong Kong.

{FU} Diocese of Fujian (Fukien) formed. First bishop was Horace McCartie Eyre Price.

{SI} Much of the Church's effort continued to be put into St. John's, which was incorporated and recognised as a university in 1906.

{SG} Dr. Margaret Phillips joined medical work in Pingyin.

{O} Anqing: Mission centre begun in Nanchang.

1907 {HK} St. Stephen's Girls College started.

{HK} Canon G.H. Lander appointed to succeed Hoare as bishop.

{ZH} George Moule, Bishop of "Mid-China" (effectively Zhejiang) resigned. Herbert James Molony, previously a CMS missionary in India, appointed to succeed Moule. He was given the title "Bishop of Zhejiang" instead of "Mid-China".

{SG} First diocesan conference held.

{NC} Scott designed a cathedral, consecrated in 1907, which was one of the first, and perhaps most successful, attempts to adapt traditional Chinese architecture for Christian congregational worship.

{HA} Boone Library begun by Miss M.E. Wood, the first such library in China.

{O} Anqing: Work was flourishing in Anqing largely due to St. James Hospital there. St. Paul's and St. Agnes' boarding schools for boys and girls were opened.

{O} Henan: ZSH, then in process of formation, asked the Church of England in Canada to send a bishop and staff to work in an area where so far there was no Anglican mission work. Henan Province, an area known for its proud isolation and exclusiveness, was chosen for this work.

1908 {FU} Constitution for a diocesan synod and district councils adopted.

{ZH} At Lambeth Palace an agreement was signed recognising that Anglican Chinese in Shanghai should look to the Bishop of Shanghai (then of course an American) rather than the (English) Bishop of Zhejiang. Holy Trinity Church, Shanghai, however (virtually the chaplaincy church of the British community) was to continue to look to the English bishop of Zhejiang.

{SI} Work begun in the northern part of Jiangsu by Benjamin L. Ancell, T.L. Sinclair, and Fu Ta-huan, a clergyman from Wuhan. What became Mahan middle school was started

here, partly as a means of making contact with local people.

{SG} Mathews started mission centre in Yanzhou (Tseyang), an important town south of Tai'an.

{O} West China: Grant provided by Pan-Anglican Congress to set up a hostel as a centre for students in Chengdu. Anglicans initially chose not to join the new West China Union University.

1909

{SI} Formal diocesan synod set up.

{NC} Clergy from the North China diocese had from time to time visited Henan to take services for the foreign staff employed on the new railway and elsewhere, but this ceased when the new diocese of Henan came into existence in 1909.

{NC} Grants from Pan-Anglican Congress made possible the expansion of schools.

{NC} Li Tsen-lan made a deacon.

{HA} Boone School incorporated as a university under the laws of the District of Columbia, with the right of granting degrees.

{HA} Seven Chinese ordained deacons in Hankou, including Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel).

{O} Guangxi-Hunan: Diocese of Guangxi-Hunan (Kwangsi-Hunan) established, since this area was too inaccessible for oversight by the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong. William Banister appointed bishop. First single women missionaries sent to Lingling and opened a girls' school.

{O} Henan: William Charles White, a Canadian working with the CMS in Fujian, was consecrated in Toronto as bishop for Henan. Kaifeng became the centre of the new diocese.

1910

{FU} First synod held. Mission and diocese were organized separately in a loose partnership, though at this time with mission as dominant partner.

{ZH} Bishop Molony appointed two archdeacons: Walter Stephen Moule, a son of A.E. Moule, and Shen Tsai-sheng (T.S. Sing). Wang Yu-kuang, who had been made deacon in 1876, was for thirty years priest-in-charge at Ningbo. He wrote one of the papers for the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. Bishop Molony proposed to the London CMS committee that it should undertake to make a block grant for pastoral expenses to a diocesan board, instead of itself deciding the various items, but this was not accepted. The growth of the Church in Zhejiang was slower than in Fujian (which had much more CMS mission staff), but at all events there were fewer defections.

{SI} Increased stress on self-government, self-support, and self-propagation of the Church after 1900 led to independent Chinese efforts, such as the establishment of a church at Kunsan. The Church of Our Saviour in Hongkou was a completely self-supporting parish.

{SI} Work begun in Nanjing by J.H.B. Gill and J.G. Magee.

{SG} First Chinese ordained as deacons.

{NC} Scott completed a revision of the Mandarin version of the Prayer Book.

{HA} Diocesan mission centre opened in untouched portion of the diocese by existing parishes and centres, under Tsen Tzu-fang (T.F. Tsen).

{O} Anqing: With the growth of the Church along the Yangtze, it seemed best to divide the very widely extended diocese of Hankou, forming those parts of it in the provinces of Anhwei and Jiangxi into a new diocese of Wuhu. F.L. Hawks Pott chosen as bishop, and on his refusal D.T. Huntington was appointed.

{O} West China: District councils began electing a diocesan council to advise and assist the bishop.

1911

{FU} Eight of eleven district councils had Chinese chairmen.

{ZH} A Pan-Anglican grant allowed Trinity College in Ningbo to get additional new buildings.

Overview of the period 1911-1927

The historical context

By 1911, it was clear that the Qing Dynasty had, in the old phrase, "exhausted its mandate from heaven." An uprising in Wuchang in October was the signal that led speedily, and fairly peaceably, to the replacement of the imperial regime by a republican government under the influence of Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhong-shan). Sun was elected provisional president on January 1, 1912, but in March he gave way to the more conservative Yüan Shih-k'ai. Yüan dissolved the new parliament following an abortive uprising by Sun's supporters in July, 1913, and sought to establish himself as emperor, but provincial military leaders rebelled. Yüan's death in June 1916 was followed by nine years of chaos and civil war. Military leaders controlled different parts of the country and intermittently engaged in civil war. In 1918 there were parliaments in both Beijing (Peking) and Guangzhou (Canton). Banditry flourished. Just, honest, and peaceful administration was at a discount. The growing, selling, and smoking of opium, though illegal, revived.

Japan, fearful of her awakening neighbor, took advantage of China's divisions and temporary weakness to promote the notorious "Twenty-one Demands" in 1915. These demands included control of Manchuria, economic concessions, and a role in China's government; they would have resulted in China becoming virtually a client state of Japan. The net result was to increase the spirit of nationalism in China.

China had been involved nominally in the first World War on the side of the Allies. At the Versailles Peace Conference, Japan (also one of the Allies) claimed the former German concessions in Shandong Province. A massive student demonstration in Beijing on May 4, 1919 against the Versailles decisions has been called the first patriotic demonstration in Chinese history. Boycotts of Japanese goods followed. Some of the Japanese demands were withdrawn, but China refused to sign the Peace Treaty.

Some signs of progress into the modern world were evident during this period. Dissection of the human body was allowed from 1913. Education for girls and women was becoming much more general. Women chaired meetings in the fields of medical training. The Western calendar was adopted, and complete religious liberty proclaimed. The Ministry of Education made repeated, if unsuccessful, efforts to provide and enforce universal free education for children.

Before 1911, modern ideas and attitudes had little influence in China except as mediated by Christian missions. After 1911, there was a period of almost blind worship of all things foreign, leading inevitably to a reaction. Christianity gradually became only one of many outlooks competing for influence. Much anti-Christian literature came in from Japan. For awhile, however, the general atmosphere was very favourable to Christianity, and, in some respects, the years up until 1925 marked the climax of non-Roman missions in China. The numbers of foreign mission staff were highest during these years. Almost as many Chinese became non-Roman Christians in the period 1911-1922 as during the previous hundred years. As late as 1922, pupils and students in Christian schools and colleges constituted nearly one third of all students in China. For a time Christianity seemed to be "the wave of the future."

Many of the revolutionary leaders, even if not themselves Christians, had been educated in Christian institutions and were favourable to the faith.³ The father of the Republic and founder of the Nationalist Church, Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhong-shan), was a Christian, though aloof from the organised Church. As a boy, he had attended a Church of England school in Honolulu. Yat-sen (I-hsien) was a name given him at his baptism in Hong Kong. He declared that he had gotten the idea of the revolution from missionaries who put the ideas

³ R.F. Johnston, Professor of Chinese at London University and a staunch apologist for Confucianism and critic of the Christian missions, emphasised the big share of Christians in the 1911 revolution, and criticised them for it. A non-Christian Chinese said that the revolution began when Robert Morrison landed in China.

Overview of the period 1911-1927

of liberty and justice into his heart. It was he more than any other who inspired the leaders of the revolution, though he was more influential after his death than in his lifetime. When he died in 1925, there were only Christian observances at his state funeral. At his own request and that of his widow, there was a Christian burial service conducted by the much respected Congregationalist minister Dr. Liu Ting-fang (Timothy) in the chapel of the Beijing Union Medical College.

A majority of members of Sun Yat-sen's first cabinet are said to have been professing Christians. Li Yuan-hung, Vice-President and next in influence to Sun, urged that more missionaries should come to China and penetrate the inland provinces where there had been no Christian activity. Three out of five Chinese delegates at the Versailles Peace Conference were Christians. One of them, Wang Chen-t'ing (C.T.), was the son of an Anglican clergyman, and Yen Huei-ch'ing (W.W.) was the nephew of an outstanding Chinese clergyman of an earlier day.

Yüan Shih-kai was favourable to Confucianism, and he revived the annual sacrifice on the Altar of Heaven. Yet he also requested Christians to pray for the young Republic. He is said to have expressed the hope that as the old China was based on Confucianism, the new China would be based on Christianity. The government asked the Church to have a day of prayer for the new China (April 27, 1913), and officials were instructed to attend these services. Others were more devoted to Confucianism, and a proposal was made in the Chinese Parliament in 1917 that Confucianism should be made the state religion. This, however, was turned down.

While the central government was in some ways favourable toward Christianity, waves of anti-foreign and anti-Christian sentiment were also in evidence. An impressive meeting of the World Student Christian Federation in Beijing in 1922 gave, by way of a reaction, a big impetus to the anti-Christian movement. Shortly before this, the visits to China and widely advertised lectures of such missionaries of rationalism as Bertrand Russell and John Dewey reinforced the sceptical and rationalistic outlook in China. This tradition of rationalism, stronger than in any other country, probably had been reinforced also by the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. The influence of Soviet Russia, with its atheistic ideology, was spreading in China.

The New Tide Movement challenged all tradition and authority. Some even described Confucian teaching as poison. A student manifesto in 1922 denounced Christianity as teaching a slave-psychology, and as being otherworldly, capitalistic, and materialistic -- all, in fact, that was evil. Christian Chinese, because of their supposed connexion with Westerners, were regarded as "secondary barbarians." The anti-Christian movement now was felt, quite rightly, to be more deeply rooted. It was thought to be of more serious portent for the future than the Boxer outbreak had been, though it did not lead to much loss of life.

During these years, Christians in general were more and more unhappy about the Extraterritoriality Treaties that were still the only sanction for Christian activity, or indeed for any foreign business, in China. However, it was difficult to revise them until there was a stable modern government. Mission circles in particular urged their revision. The Treaties did, of course, help to preserve law and order, sometimes where otherwise there was only chaos. Owing to continued instability, the Treaties were not abolished finally until 1943.

Fuel was added to the anti-Christian movement by the tragic incident of May 30, 1925 in Shanghai, when a dozen rioting demonstrators were shot by the police of the International Settlement. The police were under a British officer who was dismissed for his action. The nationwide feeling aroused was naturally directed primarily against the British, but affected all foreigners, including missionaries. Chinese Christians were affected because of their links with foreigners. The Chinese priest at Songjiang, south of Shanghai, for example, was cruelly derided for his faith. An inscription was put on his cap "running dog of imperialism", and by his side a placard reading "relying on the power of the Church, he devours the people like fish and flesh." He was bound and then imprisoned. But, he took it coolly, and was released after some days.

Overview of the period 1911-1927

The formation of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui

In 1909 a representative gathering of Anglican bishops, clergy, and laity from different parts of China, connected with various missionary societies, had agreed to the formation of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui (China Holy Catholic Church). This was subsequently approved by the synods of the various dioceses.

The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui General Synod had its first meeting in April 1912. Bishop C.P. Scott, to whom with Bishop Graves, its formation was mainly due, was elected as the first chairman of the House of Bishops, with Logan H. Roots as the vice chairman. Chinese (Mandarin or Kuan Hua) was the one and only official language. One of the Synod's first acts was to draw up a fraternal letter to all Christians in China, expressing its desire for full Christian unity, and its conviction that spiritual unity, though right and delightful, was insufficient; a standing committee on unity was appointed. The proposed Constitution and Canons were approved, and it was decided that the Synod should meet every three years.

The main act of the second meeting of the General Synod in 1915, with Bishop Graves in the chair, was to establish its own Board of Missions, to be staffed, financed, and controlled entirely by Chinese Churchmen. Huang Chi-t'ing (S.C.) of the Diocese of Hankou was first General Secretary of the Board of Missions. He was succeeded by Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) in 1921. Ko P'i-lu (D.M. Koeh), rector of St. Peter's in Shanghai, and P'u Hua-ren (Paul), staff person of the catechetical school at Shanghai (both graduates of St. John's) volunteered for the hard task of work in Shaanxi Province (Shensi), which was then a strange, remote, and backward part of the country. They arrived there in September 1916. Tsen gave the address at their dismissal service. The 1915 Synod also expressed its desire for more foreign staff for Church work in China, and voted for the establishment of a Central Theological College.

By the early part of the 20th century there were some five different versions in Chinese of the English and American versions of the Book of Common Prayer. The House of Delegates at the General Synod fourth meeting in 1921 proposed that these should be quickly superseded by one standard version. The House of Bishops, however, argued against a premature standardization that would be too closely based on Western models. It was finally agreed that each diocese should be encouraged to work out experiments in Chinese expression of prayer and worship. The Synod also asked the English and American Churches to recognize it as autonomous, with the right to appoint and consecrate its own bishops.

The 1921 General Synod included for the first time a Chinese bishop; Shen Tsai-sheng was assistant bishop of the Zhejiang (Chekiang) diocese. It was arranged that the Central Theological School should open in September, with Basil Mather as Dean, and T'ang Tsong-mu (T.M.), L.B. Ridgely, and Henry Moule on the staff. The Lambeth Appeal for Christian Unity was endorsed, but at this time no other Christian body in China, except the Roman Catholics, had a central body with whom Anglicans could, if they wished, negotiate. It was decided to alter the Canons to make it clearly permissible for women to be delegates to the General Synod.

Most non-Roman Christians cooperated in 1919 to start a "China for Christ" movement. The Anglicans were of course involved in this, and an Anglican, David Z.T. Yui (Zü Tih-chang), was chairman of it. This movement led in 1922 to the formation of the representative National Christian Council of China, which most, though not all, non-Roman bodies joined. The concern of the Council was for life and work. Matters of faith and order were outside its scope, and left to the constituent bodies. L.H. Roots, bishop of Hankou, was invited to be one of its four executive secretaries. He and the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui were agreeable to his resigning his see to undertake this responsibility, but the American Anglican Church did not agree. So, Roots continued as bishop of his diocese but was given a suffragan so that he could give a large part of his time to the work of the National Christian Council.

The fifth meeting of the General Synod in 1924 revealed differing views as to whether deaconesses should or should not be included among the clergy. It was decided that they should be so included. Women were not allowed to speak in church and lead in prayer at other than regular church services. Where no Anglican

Overview of the period 1911-1927

congregation existed, the Synod also now sanctioned Anglicans joining union congregations. And, with the permission of the diocesan bishop, there were even special circumstances in which Anglican clergy accepted a call to minister to such congregations. The dioceses and mother Churches were encouraged to support the National Christian Council both morally and financially. During this period, the work of the Church was largely a matter of building up and expanding from existing centres and enterprises, rather than starting entirely fresh centres.

Anglicanism in China remained but a small part of non-Roman Christianity in that country. Numerically it was very weak compared with British Anglican work in the Indian sub-continent and Africa. This was largely due to the fact that the Church in Britain did not have the close ties with, knowledge of, and concern for, China that it had for other parts of the world. Nevertheless, the Church in China was gradually becoming more Chinese in staffing and otherwise. This is illustrated by the number of clergy: in 1914 there were 165 ordained foreign staff but by 1923 this number had declined to 146. During the same period the number of Chinese clergy had increased from 106 to 177.

Almost from the first day, Chinese followers of Christ had played an indispensable part in proclaiming the Christian faith and in displaying Christian care and concern. Although their share was becoming much the larger one, the full blossoming of Chinese leaders in the Anglican Church in China had to wait until later. There was continued and increasing doubt as to whether foreign staff were still needed, and in 1928 many thought that the day of the foreign missionary was over. But it was repeatedly stated by Christian Chinese such as Chao Tzū-ch'ên (T.C.) that foreign staff who would work as partners with Christian Chinese were both welcome and very much needed. As early as 1910, at the World Mission Conference at Edinburgh, Bishop Azariah of India, had warned of the danger of missionary paternalism. The warning was not taken by all as seriously as it should have been. But, it was there.

No subject caused more continued concern than finding and training young Chinese who would offer themselves for ordination. The young Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) was a leader among student volunteers who encouraged their fellow-countrymen to offer themselves for the ordained ministry. A great difficulty in this was the complete lack in the Chinese background of anything remotely analogous to the Christian full time, ordained ministry. Christian history in other countries had shown this type of ministry to be valuable and almost indispensable to the world of Christian mission. It was, indeed, generally agreed that not enough Chinese with the necessary devotion and gifts offered themselves for it.

The Church continued to show its relevance to the whole of life in different ways as circumstances changed. As late as 1912, training of doctors in modern medicine was practically confined to mission hospitals. Before that, St. Luke's Hospital in Shanghai and St. Peter's Hospital in Wuchang had each conducted a medical training class, but these were now united to form a medical school attached to St. John's University in Shanghai.

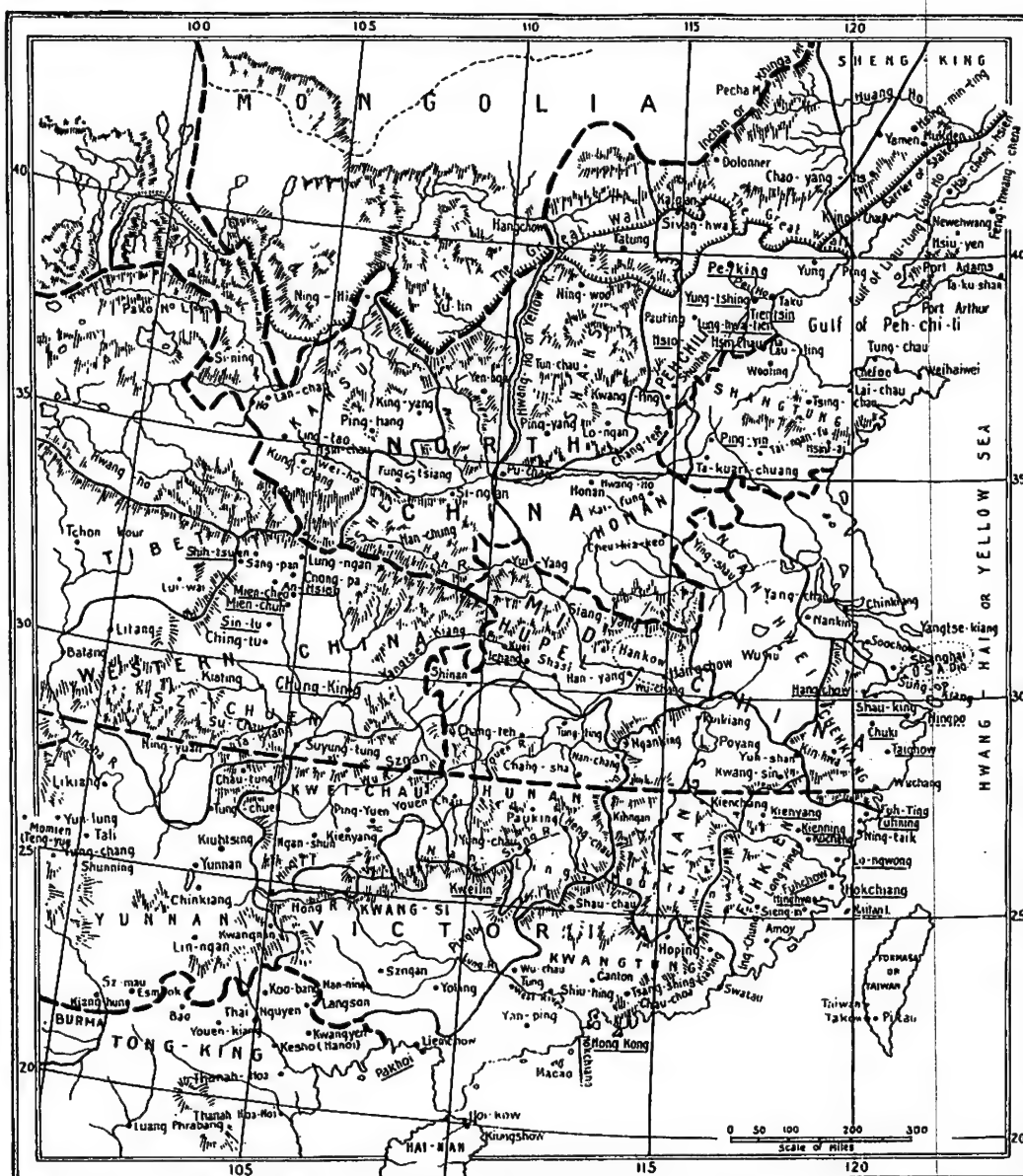
From the first, Anglicans, like other Christians, had set up many primary schools. They stressed the provision of education for girls as well as boys. Distinct from private instruction of girls in well-to-do families, girls' schools had in the nineteenth century been a revolutionary step. In this respect, a new era began in 1911, although for a time there were still few primary schools for girls and correspondingly more need for mission girls' schools. Even in 1917, government schools provided for about twenty-two boys for every girl, while in mission schools the proportion was only two to one.

Helping the many millions of illiterate adults was increasingly seen as a responsibility, not the least by Christians. The Zhonghua Shengong Hui co-operated with others -- Christians and non-Christians-- in the Mass Education Movement. Night classes were held, which taught the thousand most common Chinese characters, and literature was produced using only these characters. Another approach was romanisation (latinisation), or phonetic writing, of the sounds in Western letters. Early missionary schemes of this had not been popular and had even been despised by non-Christians. These attempts at improving literacy bore fruit in 1918 when the Ministry of Education promulgated and ordered to be taught just such a phonetic scheme.

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This action was widely promoted by Christians. The Mandarin New Testament was published in romanised form in 1920.

This period ended with the troubled year 1927 when there was a violent break between the Nationalist majority and the Communist minority in the Guomindang. In Nanjing, the American vice president of the University of Nanjing was shot dead, and many other lives were threatened in a reign of terror. This apparently was the work of the Communists, wanting to embroil Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Kai-shek) with the foreign powers. Once more, many Christian institutions were for the time being closed or occupied by the military.



Mission Stations are underlined thus: _____

Map of Anglican work in China (1908)

From Frank L. Norris' *China* volume in the *Handbooks of English Church Expansion* series.

Diocesan histories, 1911-1927

The Diocese of Hong Kong

The Diocese of Hong Kong (or Victoria, throughout this period) might have been much better called South China. The two main centres were the island of the Hong Kong colony itself, and Guangzhou (Canton). The jurisdiction of the diocese became progressively smaller over the years as its outer territories became dioceses in their own right.

Prior to 1900, work among the Chinese in the Hong Kong diocese was relatively small apart from in Fujian. When the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui was established, diocesan synods were set up in each diocese. The Victorian Diocesan Synod, established in 1918 with a purely Chinese membership, controlled the Chinese language work of the diocese. A separate body called the Diocesan Church of England Synod was set up in 1920 to be responsible for the Church's work in English. At the beginning of this curious arrangement, Bishop G.H. Lander explained that, but for the language problem, he would much have preferred one organisation. There was a language division in the Church in Hong Kong, but no racial barrier.

By the early 1920s most of the work of the diocese was under the diocesan synod, and the Church Missionary Society retained little control. The local CMS conference in 1913 suggested to the CMS London headquarters that it should pay its block grants directly to the synod, but its headquarters was not willing to do this. The meeting of the General Synod of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui in Guangzhou in 1924 made the colonial Church in Hong Kong more aware of the national Chinese Church. The bishops of Singapore, the Philippines, Sarawak, and Labuan were also in attendance at this General Synod, representing overseas Chinese.

Charles Ridley Duppy succeeded G.H. Lander as bishop in 1920 and presided until 1932. The cathedral in Hong Kong had been first built as the parish church for the European residents, and its services continued to be mainly in English. By the early 1920s, there were in the colony (Kowloon and the island) five financially self-supporting Chinese-speaking congregations. These were looked after by three Chinese clergy with some full time lay workers.

The Church opened St. John's Hall as a much needed residence for some of its students in 1912 when the Hong Kong government established a university. St. Paul's College flourished during these years as a normal fee-paying boys' school. St. Paul's girls' school began in 1915 in rented quarters with some fifty girls. Its moves to larger quarters several times during the next years were necessitated by a great new demand for education for girls. Individual contributions from Chinese merchants, most of whom were not Christians, made these moves possible. The highly regarded Miss Catherine Hu Feng-i (known to her friends as Katie Woo) of St. Paul's was an Oxford graduate.

An Australian, E.J. Barnett, was appointed archdeacon in 1914. He had founded St. Stephen's College and had been its first warden. Later he helped establish St. Stephen's Girls' College, and was influential in starting the university. Elsewhere in the diocese, there were numbers of Church schools; these were mostly primary but a few were secondary. Some of them were helped by the Hong Kong schools.

By the early 1920s, the diocesan schools were almost all financially self-supporting except for the salaries of mission staff (provided by the CMS). They were largely under Chinese management. In Hong Kong and Guangzhou, at least, European staff were needed and used almost exclusively for educational work. The Chinese clergy and lay workers were responsible for pastoral and evangelistic work. Most of all, foreign staff were wanted for training Chinese lay-workers and clergy. The Anglicans had a hostel from 1914 and co-operated in the Union Theological College at Guangzhou. Percy Jenkins was the Anglican representative there for two decades. His work in helping to translate the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek into Cantonese, and his work in a new translation of the Prayer Book into Cantonese were highly valued.

In Guangzhou, much Anglican work centered around the Church of Our Saviour. European residents in

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Guangzhou were served by Christ Church, Shameen, which had its services in English. Until 1906, Christ Church was the financial responsibility of a Treaty-Port Chaplaincy Fund. After that time, the CMS became responsible for services there, and for a number of years received an annual grant from the Chaplaincy Fund. In 1916, the Church started St. Hilda's secondary school for girls. In these years, anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling was especially strong at times in Guangzhou. In the early years of Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist government, there were government exactions and confiscations. In general, there was no little disorder.

The Church leper hospital at Beihai continued to do much needed work with inadequate staffing. In fact, its closure, for lack of staff, was seriously considered in 1923, but an English doctor and his wife became available and were appointed there in 1924. They were followed in 1926 by Dr. Samuel Shen (Sing), who had been trained at Dr. Duncan Main's hospital in Hangzhou. On his way to Beihai, Shen was held for ransom by pirates but later released. He continued as medical superintendent for eight years.

In 1912, Nanning, in south central Guangxi, replaced Guilin as the capital of that province. Bishop Lander visited it in 1914, and Anglicans began work there soon after. By 1920, there were a hundred and twenty communicants. In 1923, the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS), newly separated from the CMS, took over responsibility for helping the Anglican work here. A little later, it established a rescue orphanage for girls at Lungchou, which was later moved to Haophong and then to Hong Kong.

In 1927, Bishop Duppy appointed two archdeacons; Alfred Swann, dean of the Cathedral, became archdeacon of Hong Kong, and Mo Shou-tseng (S.C. Mok), vicar of the Church of our Saviour, Guangzhou, became archdeacon of Guangzhou. The province of Yunnan was nominally in the Hong Kong diocese, and a hospital was opened in the provincial capital, Kunming, by Dr Gordon Thompson in 1915. Yunnan was too remote from Hong Kong to fit satisfactorily into that diocese. Because of this remoteness, and also because the spoken language was the national language and not Cantonese, there was much talk of establishing a separate diocese.

The Diocese of Fujian (Fukien)

The Diocese of Fujian (Fukien) had been established in 1906, with Horace McCartie Eyre Price as bishop. In the early 1920s there were no fewer than a hundred and fifteen foreign staff members in Fujian. The Church of England and the Church of Ireland through the Church Missionary Society, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, and the Dublin University Mission had put a relatively large staff into the Fujian mission. Though small compared with most Indian and African dioceses, it became and remained numerically the largest Anglican diocese in China. In 1923, it had about 13,000 baptised Anglicans -- about a quarter of all Anglicans in China. The work was much more diffused over a large area in Fujian, with few very large institutions. The method of working here contrasted with that of the next largest diocese, Shanghai, where work had been highly concentrated.

In 1911, nearly a quarter of the foreign staff in Fujian were in medical work. Thirteen doctors, including four women, and eleven nurses were in a number of medium-sized hospitals in various towns. Some of these had branch hospitals or dispensaries dependent on them. The hospital at Fuqing had to be closed in 1921. The diocese co-operated with other Christian bodies in setting up a Union Medical College in Fuzhou. Dr. B.V.S. Taylor, an Anglican doctor, was for some years principal. The Church hospital at Fuzhou looked after a leper settlement, and had a branch hospital at Lianjiang and a dispensary at Datian. Much of the medical work was by now coming to be the responsibility of Chinese doctors and nurses. From 1926, Dr. C.S. Yü was in charge of the new maternity hospital at Putian.

During this time, Anglican co-operation with other Christians in Fujian extended beyond medical training. As early as 1911 they had joined with American Baptists and Methodists to set up an institution to train kindergarten teachers. The following year they joined with no less than five other denominations to start a

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Union Theological School. The original hope that UTS would become an integral part of the Fujian Christian University, itself sponsored by several American missions, was not realized. The Anglicans for a time co-operated in this but ceased to do so when the university and the medical college in which they were primarily interested became separate institutions. The Anglican training school for lay workers continued.

Bishop Price in 1916 appointed Ch'en Yün-en (K.O. Ding) as archdeacon, in succession to J.R. Wolfe. Price himself resigned in 1918, and was succeeded as bishop by John Hind, an Irishman, who had served in this diocese since 1902 in connexion with the Dublin University Mission. Bishop Hind was a man of unusual vision who worked over a number of years to transfer responsibility to Chinese, and to get the diocese more Church-centered rather than mission-centered. He quickly got the London CMS committee to agree to transfer catechists to the control of the synod, and have the CMS grant made to the synod for their work. Chinese clergy were to be chairmen of the district church councils, and in charge of the parishes. From 1919 all speeches at the synod had to be in the Fujianese variety of Chinese. Missionaries previously had spoken in English, which many Chinese did not understand. In 1917, the synod agreed that women might be members of Church councils with equal rights with men. In 1922, Bishop Hind ordained six women-- all expatriates-- as deaconesses. The mission conference in 1924 agreed to invite Chinese to be members of the committee that dealt with the placing of foreign staff, and with requests for new missionaries. This formally came under the control of the synod in 1928. The responsibility of the diocesan synod, which had been set up fairly early, had been for the most part limited to the appointment and transfer of Chinese clergy until 1918. Foreign staff and Chinese unordained staff appointments came under the separate and independent, and much more powerful, CMS governing authority.

The years 1925-27 saw disturbances in Fujian Province as in the rest of China. Some church buildings were destroyed. After this, the Church schools, including the well-known Trinity College, Fuzhou, which was supported by the Dublin University Mission, had Chinese heads. Religious instruction was voluntary. Both Chinese control of the Church, and support of it, were steadily growing. A considerable number of church buildings were erected by Christian Chinese without help from the mission. The long service of R.R. Walker at Putian and elsewhere, had been very much appreciated. In 1928, after he and his wife had left China, local officials, landowners, and businessmen, raised the funds needed for a four-story Walker Memorial Hospital at Putian.

It had been proposed in 1916 that a cathedral church be built in Fuzhou in memory of Archdeacon J.R. Wolfe and his fifty-three years' work in Fujian. This project was completed in 1927, in time for the meeting in Fuzhou of the General Synod. The church was consecrated by the chairman of the House of Bishops, F.L. Norris. Ch'en Yün-en (K.O. Ding) was the second Chinese to become an Anglican bishop, and it was a great occasion for the diocese when he was consecrated as assistant bishop of Fujian on All Saint's Day, 1927, at All Saints' Church in Shanghai. Bishop Hind had apparently been wanting this step for some time.

In ways new and old, the church continued to show its relevance to Chinese life. For example, a new tuberculosis ward was built at the hospital in Jian'ou in north west Fujian Province, despite civil strife in the area. Two mission doctors died of pneumonic plague in 1927 when caring for its victims. H.S. Phillips was twice called upon by local leaders to act as mediator. Dr. R.R. Walker more than once mediated between Northern and Southern armies in the early 1920s.

The Diocese of Zhejiang (Chekiang)

Herbert James Molony had been appointed Bishop of Zhejiang (Chekiang) in 1907. More than in some other dioceses, the 1911-1927 period saw growth in local financial self-support in the Zhejiang diocese. The chief place where a new Church centre was set up was Tonglu, southwest of Hangzhou, in 1913. Leadership was increasingly delegated to Chinese. Noted for his energy, ability, and clear-headedness, Shen Tsai-sheng (T.S.) was elected by the diocesan synod in 1918 to be assistant bishop and consecrated in the new Church of our Saviour in Shanghai. Shen was one of the sons of the first Anglican cleric, Shen En-teh, and was the first

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Chinese to be an Anglican bishop. He had been pastor at Hangzhou and later Dean of Trinity College, Ningbo.

The first so-called diocesan synod in Zhejiang was purely a council of advice for the bishop, but in 1912, with a new constitution, the synod became an authoritative diocesan body. In 1925, the CMS in London agreed that its grants for evangelistic work and day schools for boys should also be paid to the diocese. The arrangement was welcomed by the Chinese, but it was criticised by some of the missionaries as putting too much power into the hands of the bishop and the secretary of the mission, who was always of course a foreigner. By 1928, a good deal of the CMS property had been transferred to the diocese.

In the middle 1920s more than one fourth (sixteen) of the twenty-one parishes comprising eighty-five congregations were under Chinese clergy and these were nearly financially self-supporting. Anglican work extended over only a quarter of the province, but this included the more influential northern part. Church adherents in Zhejiang had grown about ten percent in ten years, considerably less than the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui as a whole. Geographic considerations played a role in the work. The hilly nature of the area encouraged local isolation and the persistence of differing dialects, so that the production of a common Prayer Book even for the one diocese was difficult. The concern for financial support may have distracted attention and energy from the work of extension. One of the parishes was a diocesan mission under purely Chinese staff, and supported financially by the other parishes. More and more, the foreign staff were used in various ways to train Chinese clergy, doctors, nurses, and teachers.

In addition to some fifty lower and nine higher elementary schools, the diocese had secondary schools for girls at Hangzhou and Ningbo, and for boys at Shaoxing and Shanghai. It also had the well known secondary school, Trinity College, at Ningbo. This college had divinity and teacher-training classes, and produced for many years a constant stream of clergy, catechists, and schoolmasters. W.S. Moule was on its staff for thirty-seven years, and was principal for twenty-seven (1898-1925). The years 1925 to 1927 were disturbing and difficult for the schools even more than for the rest of the diocese. All experienced temporary closings.

The Church had three hospitals. By the middle 1920s the hospital at Taizhou was the responsibility of two Chinese doctors. A second hospital at Ningbo had eighty-five beds, and the largest hospital, Kuang Chi, at Hangzhou had five hundred beds. This had been the life's work of Dr. Duncan Main who worked there forty-five years until his retirement at the age of seventy in 1926. This hospital had developed from the smallest beginnings. Over the years it included in addition to the main hospital, leper settlements, an isolation hospital, a medical college (1924), and convalescent homes for both men and women. It also trained nurses. For Dr. Main's sixtieth birthday his former pupils collected funds to set up a Home for Blind and Incurable Persons. Essentially a pioneer and something of an individualist, Main was broad-minded and obviously sincere. He received several honours from the Chinese government, and was much acclaimed by a host of individuals. After his retirement in 1926, two doctors, a Chinese and an Englishman (S.D. Sturton), became joint heads of the whole institution.

The Diocese of Guangxi-Hunan (Kwangsi-Hunan)

After the 1911 revolution the conditions in Guangxi-Hunan improved for some years; there was less disorder and unrest. Gradually the Church extended into the valleys from the centres already established, which were Guilin, Lingling (Yunchow), and Hengyang. William Banister, bishop of the diocese since its formation in 1909, was headquartered at Xiangtan, at the northern end of the diocese. Banister had served in China nearly thirty years when the diocese was started. He was not physically strong enough to visit very much around the diocese or to follow up new openings. He was, however, quite forward-looking. In 1914 he proposed to the CMS in London that, while a mission conference should continue to deal with the personal affairs and allowances of missionaries, a diocesan council should be established that would give Chinese Churchpeople a share in "rightful control" over grants, institutions, and Chinese staff. A Church committee in each Church centre would appoint two representatives to this council. When the London committee rejected this, Banister submitted a modified form of the scheme, which also was rejected as premature in such a young, small, and

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scattered diocese. This rejection led a joint conference of men and women missionaries in 1915 to protest to London that a "definite wrong" was being done, denying the Christian Chinese a share in Church government. It was only some years later that the London committee came around and approved the proposed diocesan canons and constitution.

By the time Bishop Banister retired in 1923, the number of adherents, minute when the diocese began in 1909, had risen to 1810 including catechumens. There were five Chinese clergy in 1923, compared to none in 1909. Xiangtan and Anyuan in Hunan were now transferred back to the Hankou diocese, with which they were more naturally connected. Louis Byrde, the real founder of the Guangxi-Hunan Diocese, died of dysentery at Lingling in 1918, and was buried there.

A hospital was set up about this time in Guilin, under Dr. Charlotte Bacon. A dispensary was started in 1925 under an English sister at Dao Xian where there was a Church centre in the valleys running up south from Lingling. The foreign medical staff in this diocese were members of the CMS. The other women missionaries were members of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui.

This small and up-country diocese never had any large institutions. Numbers of primary schools were started. A boys' junior middle school (a three-year course) was established, first in Hengyang and then in conjunction with the Methodists at Lingling. For a time a girls' junior middle school in Lingling was run. These middle schools had to shut down in the troubles of 1927 and were later reopened. Voluntary preaching bands opened new centres in a good many villages and market-towns, including Guanyang, Ningyuan, Jianghua and Yunming. Archdeacon John Holden gave much time to training the preaching bands and full time catechists. There was also a training school for Biblewomen at Lingling.

There were anti-foreign demonstrations in many places in 1919, and the following years saw much disorder and terror. Holden spent a whole week in 1922 rushing to and from between Guilin and another town, mediating between conflicting armies. Holden succeeded Banister as bishop in 1924. Much more active than his predecessor had ever been, he was also far-sighted and statesmanlike in his outlook regarding the future of the Church. He pressed forward for self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. There were riots in 1927 in various places, destroying several churches and the men's hospital in Guilin. The foreign staff were ordered to evacuate to Hong Kong, but were able to return fairly soon. The responsibilities of the diocesan synod had been gradually increased. It now extended to include the appointments of mission staff, leaving only their purely personal affairs to the mission conference.

The Diocese of Shanghai

The Church in the Shanghai diocese did not extend dramatically during this period, but made quiet progress, building up and extending from existing centres. Transfer of responsibility to Chinese was now becoming more of a question though Shanghai, under the leadership of Bishop F.R. Graves since 1891, was slower with this than some of the other dioceses. In 1917, the diocesan synod even expressed a desire for more foreign clergy.

In these years, China remained relatively open to modern and external influences but Shanghai was not unaffected by anti-Christian agitation. The terrible incident of May 30, 1925 led to the temporary closure of most Church institutions. This was again the case in 1927, though for entirely different reasons. During the outburst of patriotic feeling in 1919, an Anglican Patriotic Society was set up. It encouraged its members to express their patriotism through social and personal reform. The Society quickly came to number several hundred members, while it lasted.

The Anglicans had had no work in Nanjing until J.M.B. Gill went there in 1911; it was there that advances, though not spectacular, were now most obvious. J.G. Magee came a little later, starting work in a rented building near the Hailingmen, at Hsiakuan, outside the city on the Yangtze. At Wuxi (Wuhsi), a great silk-producing centre set among mulberry tree groves, St. Andrew's Hospital was opened in 1912, replacing an

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earlier dispensary. An operating theatre was added some years later (1921), and a school of nursing started. A new church was built about 1917 to replace the first one destroyed by fire. At about this time artesian wells were dug at the Church hospitals at both Wuxi and Suzhou, with money from the U.S.A. At the Wuxi hospital, the medical superintendent had a tap for public use put on the artesian well, which was of great benefit to the neighbourhood, saving weary labor in carrying water considerable distances. The Church established a catechists' training school in Wuxi as well. It closed for a year between 1921 and 1922. This closing allowed its buildings to be used by the Central Theological School until its move into its permanent buildings in Nanjing. There was a training school for Biblewomen at Suzhou.

The year 1923 was memorable in Nanjing. Land was bought in Hsiakuan; a school was started and the Church of the Triumphant Way built. St. Paul's Church was opened in South City after the original chapel became inadequate. The Church opened a boys' school in Changzhou in 1923 after beginning a hospital there in 1920. Changzhou was quite remote and one consequence of this remoteness was the comparative absence of the xenophobia that was so widespread after the Shanghai incident of May 30, 1925. It was felt that the hospital, though small, was saving many lives. One patient was a girl betrothed in infancy by her parents. The betrothal was no longer binding legally, but social pressure and the spirit of the age was such that she attempted to take her life by eating sulphur matches. Attempted suicide was not uncommon in China; it was viewed as an honorable protest, or as a crushing blow to someone with whom there had been a disagreement.

At Tai Xian, Wu Hong-ü (H.N. Wu) had started work as early as 1882, but in face of the gentry's opposition, no land to establish a Church centre could be acquired, and he had to withdraw. A doctor Yü was able for a time to work there without disturbance, but this too had to stop. It was only in 1914 that land could be acquired for a permanent Church centre. Grace Church was completed in 1912 at Suzhou. A girls' boarding school was started here in 1914. A new Emmanuel Church was consecrated at Yangzhou in 1924. The mission houses here were looted in the troubles of 1925. Christ Church was consecrated in 1918 at Kunshan, where Church work had been begun by Chinese Churchpeople independently of the ACM; responsibility for it was now taken over by the diocesan Board of Missions. St. Paul's Church at Chiangwan was reconstructed in 1918 at the cost of local Churchpeople in memory of Wu Hong-ü (H.N. Wu). He had established in this town a well-known and much admired Industrial Home for Widows.

In Shanghai itself, a new and much larger Church of Our Saviour was completed in 1918. This parish had been self-supporting since 1906. The funds for the new church, which had a seating capacity of almost a thousand people, were all raised locally under the leadership of the able and energetic rector, Tsu Pao-yuan (P.N.). More than most, he tried to express the Christian faith in Buddhist and Taoist terms. Chant's Academy, a boy's boarding school, was long connected with the Church of Our Saviour, which also maintained other schools, and was involved in community work. The many primary and secondary Church schools were as popular as ever. It was felt that their practice of athletics, something quite new in China, was doing much to break down longstanding notions of the social indignity of physical exercise and indeed manual labor. A building rented by C.F. McRae for evangelism in 1915 was the beginning of All Saints Church. In 1919, land was bought and a small church built. This very quickly became inadequate and in 1925 a larger church was built to replace it. St. Paul's was rebuilt in 1926. By 1914, St Peter's had become the third parish to become self-supporting.

St. John's University and its attached middle school were perhaps at the height of their influence in this period. St. John's was regarded as the outstanding Christian institution of higher education in China. Among other nationally known figures, its graduates now included Yen Huei-ch'ing (W.W.), Ku Wei-chün (Wellington Koo), Chao Shih-chi (Alfred Sze), and David Z.T. Yui (Zü Tih-chang). Its graduates made generous gifts that enabled necessary new buildings to be put up. For instance, a library was constructed to commemorate Dr. Hawks Pott's twenty-five years work here, and a gymnasium was built in 1917 in memory of F.C. Cooper, who had been Pott's right-hand man for twenty-five years. It was said to be the first modern, fully-equipped college gym complete with swimming pool in China. The students' community service work included supporting a free school for poor children, and one for illiterates for whom the government had made no provision. St. John's divinity department produced many of the future Chinese leaders of the Church. The

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medical department was strengthened in 1914 by union with the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. A large gift from the University of Pennsylvania enabled the establishment of a really adequate school of scientific modern medicine. A three month closure for the university and the middle school occurred in the summers of 1925 and 1927.

St. Mary's Hall, the girls' school close to St. John's at Jessfield, had started as an orphanage in 1884 for abandoned girl babies. By 1918 the orphanage department closed because of decreasing need and the remaining babies were cared for at St. Elizabeth's Hospital. St. Mary's transferred from the old site to the expanding St. John's middle school in 1923. Steva L. Dodson was head of St. Mary's for thirty-two years until she retired in 1920. Basketball was an innovation here, as was what seems to have been China's first company of Girl Guides.

Some of the outstanding figures in the early history of the Shanghai diocese now passed on, including Archdeacon E.H. Thomson and Wu Hong-ü (H.N Wu). When he died in 1917, Thomson had served there no less than sixty years. He had brought the Faith to many places by his unflagging evangelistic energy. Wu was a farmer's son who had attended an ACM school in Shanghai. He was subsequently taken to the U.S.A., where he learned the printing trade and became a naturalised American citizen. He then worked his way back to China. He had been baptised at school when fifteen, made a deacon in 1873, and priested in 1880. He first worked as assistant to Thomson, and later was in charge of Church work at Chiating. In 1890 he was again in charge at Chiangwan. He died at the age of eighty-five in 1919. He was certainly one of the outstanding early Chinese clergy of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. He was specially good at pioneer work and good at social contacts, and his fatherly manner was much appreciated.

The Diocese of Anqing (Anking)

Daniel Trumbull Huntington was the first bishop of the diocese of Wuhu, renamed Anqing (Anking) in 1913. He was consecrated in March 1912 in Shanghai. Huntington's first episcopal act was to call a diocesan synod at Wuhu, at which he ordained four Chinese deacons to the priesthood: Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel), Yen Ch'i-ch'in (Hunter), Bernard Ts'en, and Reuben Nieh. The Church had four main centres in the diocese of Anqing: Anqing, Wuhu, and Jiujiang on the Yangtze, and Nanchang. These four centres had resident foreign staff in addition to Chinese. There were also three groups of outstations, one south of Wuhu, one east and one west of Anqing. Most of these country stations had small day schools.

There were two churches in Anqing. One was a small church and the other, Church of the Holy Saviour, served as a pro-cathedral, seating one thousand people. It was still uncertain what sort of church style China would eventually prefer, so it was built in the Gothic style because it was believed to be the best of Western architecture. It was the most impressive of the three Yangtze valley pro-cathedrals. After its opening in November, 1912, a week's evangelistic meetings were held in it and there were attendances of nine hundred twice daily, with admission by ticket.

St. James Hospital in Anqing continued to provide the best modern medical care, and social care where there was a special need. For example, some patients were a problem when cured because they had no home to which they could return, having been beggars. These people were set to work making place-cards, using a Chinese coin as a design, and Christmas cards. In 1925, an Institute of Hospital Technology was set up at St. James. The instructions it laid down for hygiene and sanitation were taken up and enforced by the city authorities, so that in time cholera was nearly eliminated.

St. Paul's middle school in Anqing began as a small cathedral choir-school, flourished quickly, and became largely self-supporting under the able leadership of Yen Ch'i-ch'in (Hunter). The diocese also had a boys' middle school in Jiujiang. St. Agnes' girls' boarding school had a teacher-training class attached to it. There were no government schools for girls in small places where the Church had outposts at this time. It was therefore felt that the Church should try to set up more primary schools for girls.

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While Bishop Huntington was in America to attend the General Convention, he arranged for three Sisters of the Transfiguration to come to the Anqing diocese. Joining the mission in 1914, the Sisters were first in Anqing but then went to Wuhu where they opened a girls' boarding school, St. Lioba's. They also opened the True Light dispensary there, which gave much help to people with badly infected eyes. The dispensary work was initiated because of the Sisters' concern over the death of a young girl who was ill. On the advice of a Chinese traditional doctor the girl had been exposed at night on a grave and was torn in pieces by dogs. The Sisters also started industrial work, to ease the plight of women and children.

Nanchang had two churches - Pure in Heart, and the Church of St. Matthew, a new church in a Chinese style of architecture. St. Matthew's boys school was at last able to move into buildings of its own in 1918. Teng Shu-k'un (Kimber Den) worked here as a deacon.

The diocesan synod voted in 1917 that work should be begun by a Chinese cleric in Jingdezhen (Chingtehchen), the famous porcelain centre in Jiangxi Province. Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel), with characteristic initiative, opened a Church centre in the important town of Nanling, south of Wuhu. It not only had a substantial church building and rectory, but quickly came to have several out-stations. Tsen combined this work with work as general secretary of the interdenominational "China for Christ" movement. Conferences were held for Christians throughout the diocese. In 1926, for example, one was planned for T'aihu; it was expected to last for eight days but the arrival of a band of guerrillas was rumored and it closed early.

As was the case in other dioceses, many church buildings were occupied by the military during the troubles of 1927. Church activity, and to some extent worship, were interrupted for some months. Tsen was in charge of the Anqing cathedral during this time.

The Diocese of Hankou (Hankow)

Logan H. Roots, bishop since 1903, oversaw a difficult time in Hankou during this time period. The revolution of 1911 started in Wuchang and for two months the Wuhan neighbourhood was the main battleground of the imperial and revolutionary forces. Normal church activity was very much restricted. The Northern pro-Manchu forces for a time recaptured Hankou and Wuchang from the revolutionaries. They burnt the old city at Hankou before they were driven out and many of the inhabitants lost their homes and possessions. St. Paul's Cathedral of Hankou was used as a hospital for six weeks. Dr. J. MacWillie, of St. Peter's Hospital in Wuchang, was president of the local Red Cross society. He and many others, including non-Christians, did much in searching out and caring for the sick and wounded. There was more civil disturbance in this area around 1920, and again around 1927 when the Communists broke with the Nationalists. Roots noted during these years a decline in morals both public and private.

Boone University in Wuchang had a successful year in 1912. As some other Church institutions moved to new sites, Boone was left with more room on its campus. The college, its associated middle school, and library expanded. At the fiftieth anniversary of its founding in 1921, Boone was probably the leading institution of higher learning in Central China. Two other Christian colleges in Hankou, Wesley College and Griffith John College, joined with Boone to form Central China College in 1922 on the Boone compound, with A.A. Gilman as president. In 1923 Wei Cho-min (Francis) was named dean and vice president for administration. During the second semester of the academic year 1926-1927 some science students and a faculty member from the Yale-in-China college in Changsha joined Central China College at Wuchang, initiating a lasting arrangement. Central China College came to be more successful than most Christian colleges in producing candidates for ordination. A teacher-training program was also maintained. The traditional attitude of depreciating physical labour was addressed by inclusion of systematic training at the college, especially in regard to agriculture and the selection of seeds.

The Boone library was opened for use by the general public in 1916. It organised travelling libraries and

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had a training course for librarians. Help was secured for it from the Boxer Indemnity Fund through the U.S.A. Miss M.E. Wood was apparently chiefly responsible for persuading the U.S. Government in 1924 to remit for education in China the outstanding balance of the American share of the indemnity. She did this through her canvassing of Congressmen. The Boone library staff were invited to advise and help in Beijing and Shanghai. At the time Boone was the only institution in China to give a complete training for librarians.

St. Hilda's, the girls' boarding school, moved in 1914 from the Boone compound to a new site outside the city walls. For a time, a teacher-training class was attached to it. It was noted that bound feet for girls were now going out of fashion; the few who had them at school had to unbind them gradually. Round shoulders and flat chests were still thought beautiful. A new Church General Hospital was opened on its own site in place of St. Peter's Hospital for men and St. Elizabeth's for women, both of which had been on the Boone compound. In connexion with the hospital was the House of the Merciful Saviour where care was provided for unwanted and weather-exposed children. Hu Lan-t'ing, who had previously been on the staff of Boone School, was appointed archdeacon and head of All Saints' Catechetical School in Hankou in 1914. Bishop Tsen in 1947 told the writer how, as a penniless non-Christian boy at Boone, he had been impressed with Hu's concern for him when he had measles.

A church was built for Trinity Parish, Wuchang, in 1914. A new St. Michael's Church, built in 1915, became a large and active parish under R.E. Wood. This church was close to the Military Academy, where twelve hundred picked young men were trained as army officers. Unlike most people then, they had all Sunday free, and greater efforts were made by St. Michael's to reach them. In Hanchuan, sixty miles up the river Han from Hankou, St. James Church had primary schools for boys and girls, and a boys' middle school. By 1924, it was the centre of widespread mission work in the surrounding rural area. Arrangements were made to help the local farmers to get improved cotton seed. At another place the catechist co-operated with a non-Anglican mission in running classes in the local prison in reading, writing, the Bible, and organised useful manual work.

A deputation of leading local men from Yunmeng, a small walled town some sixty miles from Hankou, came to the mission headquarters in Hankou, to inquire about the new faith, and as a result a new Church centre was established there, with a resident Chinese priest, and eventually a Church of the Ascension (about 1918). Around this time, an industrial school, with a three-year course, was started in Hankou for boys who could not complete the ordinary academic school course.

When the National Christian Council of China was established in 1922, Bishop L.H. Roots was invited to be one of its secretaries. A.A. Gilman was consecrated as suffragan bishop so that Roots could give much of his time to the NCC while remaining diocesan bishop. The chief place where a new Church centre was opened in this period was Changde in the northwest of Hunan (1916). This was the third largest town in the province with a quarter of a million population, located on the west side of the Dongting lake. The well-known Christian General, Fang Yü-hsiang, was stationed here for some time later. His ardent faith brought many inquirers to the Anglican centre, as well as to other Christian groups. The Anglicans, it was felt, perhaps gained most as a result of having trained Chinese staff here. Fang, at one time in Beijing, had been influenced a good deal towards Christianity by Wang Chen-t'ing (C.T.) and F.L. Norris. It was not until some years later (1923) that a centre was set up at Yueyang on the eastern side of the Dongting lake, and often called the gateway to Hunan. This was at first in a rented house --reportedly haunted, so the rent was low.

At Changsha, the province capital, there was considerable evangelistic progress after 1913. Walworth Tyng did effective work here for many years, as did Huang Ch'iong-hsien (C.H.). In addition to the boys' boarding school here, Miss Tsen Pao-hsün, (a granddaughter of the famous Tsen Kuo-fan, who had become Christian in an Anglican school in Hangzhou), established in 1918 the I Fang girls' private school with the definite object of training women leaders. It was said that two thousand Christians celebrated Christmas in Changsha in 1925, when only a quarter of a century before there had not been a single one.

The diocese of Hankou took back responsibility for Church work in Xiangtan and Anyuan in 1923. The Americans had originally begun work here, but when the diocese of Guangxi-Hunan (Kwangsi-Hunan) was

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established in 1909, this district had been included in it. Anyuan was only ninety miles from Changsha and connected to it by rail. It was important chiefly because of the nearby coal mines of Pingxiang, employing six thousand men. A big new church was erected in Anyuan in 1915, largely with local contributions. Up the Yangtze from Wuhan, there was generous local giving for a church building at Hsintien (about 1920). The Church centre at Shashi continued, with Yang Ch'i-tzu (Leighton) in charge, and there was also a Church school here. The American Sisters of the Order of St. Anne, under the Rev. Mother Superior Ursula Mary, worked here, and conducted a clinic several times a week.

The Huntington Industrial School at Yichang now ceased to function and its buildings were transferred to the boys' boarding school. Father Robert Wood worked here a number of years before he was moved to Wuchang. He recorded how the Anglicans joined with Lutherans and Presbyterians to hold eleven days meetings of Christian evangelism in the temple of the god of fire, lent to them for this purpose. Only a few years before this would have been unthinkable. The Anglicans received the names of nearly four hundred inquirers, who were visited in their homes. The Church here, St. James, was in 1923 reported to be well on its way to self-support through the use of Duplex envelopes.

Women were admitted to the diocesan synod as members from 1918. Among many notable Christian women must be mentioned the determined and devoted deaconess Liu I-lan (Dorcas). Though her father was a teacher, she was not educated as a child, rather kept at home to look after the younger children. When she was twenty-six, a missionary called at her home, and left a little book of Christian teaching. She got her younger brothers to take turns in teaching her, and next year got herself into St. Hilda's school. At that time, she was much older than any other pupil. At the setting apart of an American deaconess, she felt a vocation to full time Church service. She worked for some years as a Biblewoman and trained at St. Phoebe's training school for Church workers. In 1921 she and another woman were made deaconesses, the first Chinese Anglican deaconesses. Deaconess Liu first worked at Trinity Church, Changsha, and then volunteered in 1925 for work in Xi'an, Shaanxi. She died during the siege of that city.

Chinese clergy such as Huang Fu-t'ing (Harvey) were more and more taking responsibility in the Church; by 1923 the detailed direction of parishes was being turned over to them. At the same time Chinese clergy were facing not a little danger. In the troubles of 1927, one catechist, Hu Huan-t'ang at Ch'inkou on the Yangtze twenty miles above Wuchang, was bound, tortured and imprisoned. He was pressed to recant but refused to do so.

The Diocese of West China

These were very difficult years in Sichuan Province, the largest and most populous of the eighteen provinces. There was much brigandage, opium-growing, and civil strife. Things were at their worst in the early 1920s when xenophobia was widespread and bitter. In spite of everything, the Church advanced. The first church in Langchung, built in 1893, had become too small and it was rebuilt as a pro-cathedral by W.W. Cassels, bishop of the Diocese of West China since its establishment in 1895. This caused some dissension among the foreign staff as extreme evangelicals, and less devoted Churchpeople than Cassels, were upset by the thought of something to be called a cathedral. Two of the women missionaries were particularly upset by the consecration service with bishops in convocation robes, standing posture at the Offertory, and flowers within the chancel rails. They left the diocese for other spheres of work. Cassels had invited the Bishop of Hankou, L.H. Roots, who was his nearest episcopal neighbour, to come to Langchung for the occasion in December, 1914. This was a very wise action for it helped Churchpeople in a remote and isolated province to realise they were part of a much greater whole.

The Church's growing maturity was seen in Cassels' appointment of Ku Ho-ling as archdeacon in 1918. Ku had been one of those who held the Church together when the foreign staff had to leave in the Boxer year. Supervision of the greatly increased number of congregations was indeed becoming too much for Cassels alone. As early as 1915, he had raised with the Archbishop of Canterbury the question of a division of the diocese.

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That did not seem advisable then, but relief was given first by the appointment of an archdeacon, and then by the appointment in 1922 of Howard Mowll as assistant bishop, to look after, in particular, centres where the CMS worked.

The newly founded Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS), composed of conservative Evangelicals who had seceded from the CMS in 1923, was encouraged by Cassels to undertake work in the diocese at Guang'an, Yuechih, and Linshui. They came to concentrate on the area around Guang'an.

Fanatical bands, calling themselves Divine Soldiers, killed six or seven Christians in 1921 in the Wanxian district. Sichuan Province also did not escape the disturbance and anti-Christian hostility widespread over China in 1925. Cassels was much pained by what seemed to him suspicion and distrust among some Christians and even some of the clergy. Nevertheless, he was more than once called on to mediate between warring factions. Numbers of officials in Langchung took refuge at one time or another in the mission premises. Early in August 1925, brigands captured eight missionaries and one child at a small holiday resort. These captives included Bishop and Mrs. Mowll. They were released after twenty-four days upon payment of a ransom by the local magistrate.

Cassels became worn out by incessant travelling under primitive conditions. A visit to Mianzhu for the occasion of Bishop Mowll's wedding meant nearly three weeks of hard travel. Langchung was five days' travel from the nearest place where the CMS worked. Cassels died on November 7, 1925, having continued hard at it to the very end. He had worked forty years in Sichuan, based at Langchung, thirty of these years as bishop. It was calculated that he had perhaps spent no less than ten of the forty years in uncomfortable and jolting sedan-chairs. His character was one of steady persistence and quiet patience; he was entirely devoted to his work and responsibilities. Some months before his death, he had admitted to disquiet at the slowness with which responsibility had been handed over to the Chinese. He was succeeded as diocesan bishop by Howard Mowll.

It was largely the result of Cassels' work that the Christian faith in its Anglican form had been well established in east Sichuan Province. In 1885, apart possibly from Roman Catholics, there was no Christian congregation, church, or mission-house there. There were now twenty-five central stations, a hundred and twenty out-stations, forty odd church buildings, and over ten thousand baptised Churchpeople. There were twelve Chinese clergy and ninety-eight licensed preachers besides foreign staff in east Sichuan Province. This diocese concentrated on widespread evangelisation in villages and towns rather than big institutions and schools. There was, however, a Church hospital at Langchung. For a time there was also a girls' school, and a small theological college and a preacher's training school. The hospital at Langchung was long the only hospital in northeast Sichuan. Hospitals were also maintained at Suiding and Liangshan.

In east Sichuan, the Church received help from overseas through the China Inland Mission (CIM) and latterly the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS); in west Sichuan aid came through the CMS. In the latter area, Anglican work was much less widespread than in the former, although it extended to Songpan and Mao Xian, near the Tibetan border. In addition to direct evangelism, a Church hospital was maintained at Mianzhu, where Dr. Lechler worked for thirty years beginning in 1908. In the disturbances of 1925, two English clergy, (F.J. Watts, and E.A. Whiteside) were shot to death by brigands on their way to work here. There was a boys' boarding school at Mianyang, where one of them had taught. At the provincial capital, Chengdu, the Anglicans had a small share in the West China Union University. Three Chinese were made deacon in 1923 but, as late as 1926, all parishes and Church institutions here were in the charge of Western staff. The transfer of responsibility did not really begin until after the events of 1927.

The Diocese of Henan (Honan)

In 1907 an appeal had gone out to the Church of England in Canada from a conference of the Anglican community in China that it take responsibility for service to a province in China. The appeal was accepted and Henan Province became the particular focus of Canadian Anglican work in China. William Charles White, a

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Canadian serving the CMS in Fujian, was appointed bishop of the newly established Diocese of Henan in 1909 and arrived in Kaifeng in 1910. He brought with him from Fuzhou four of his Chinese colleagues, including Rev. Canon Wei I-hen (I.H.), secretary of the diocese, and Rev. P.C. Ch'en. Later in 1910, five additional Canadian missionaries joined Bishop White and his wife in Henan.

After 1911, China was open as never before to modern education. The Canadian Anglicans coming to Henan Province at this time based their approach more on education than on direct evangelism. Canadian Presbyterians and the China Inland Mission, and of course Roman Catholics, were already active in Henan. The Anglicans were to work mainly in the eastern part of the province; Kaifeng and Kueiteh became their two chief centres. It was here that the foreign staff lived.

An imposing Trinity Cathedral was built in Kaifeng quite early through a legacy from a Churchman in Quebec. On the cathedral compound, day-schools for both boys and girls were soon started. Eventually other diocesan institutions such as a centre for women's work and a training school for Biblewomen were begun. This was necessary, here as elsewhere in China, when women were segregated from the men. Outside the South Gate, boarding schools for boys (St. Andrew's) and girls (St. Mary's) were eventually started. G.E. Simmons was principal of St. Andrew's for many years. White hoped eventually to start a diocesan divinity school, but this was never achieved; the diocese never grew enough to make it practicable. The Churchpeople of St. Paul's Toronto, gave funds to build a hospital in Kaifeng. But as the CIM already had a hospital there and since no modern medical centre existed in Kueiteh or its area, the Anglican hospital was before long moved to that town. A nurses' training school was attached to it.

Bishop White was in Kaifeng some years before he found any Chinese with a Jewish background. When he did so, he arranged special meetings with them, and invited scholars from outside the province to come and instruct them in Jewish history. The Jewish community allowed him to move two old stone tablets from the site of the former synagogue to the cathedral compound. One of them was dated the equivalent of the year 1489 A.D. It told of the coming here of the Jews, and the Emperor's permission to build a synagogue. These tablets were eventually bought by the Church, but the condition was accepted that they would never be taken away from China. In addition, a large ancient stone bowl was acquired from the synagogue site. This was placed in the church and rededicated to God's service as the font.

One of the Fujianese who had come to Henan with White, Wei I-hen (I.H.), had been a Buddhist before becoming a Christian. He came as a catechist, was later ordained, and became a leading figure in the diocese. White's first Henanese colleague was Chou Yüan-tuan. He was first language teacher to White (who had to learn the national language in place of Fujianese) and other Canadian missionaries. After a severe mental struggle, Chou decided to become a Christian and was baptised. He later worked for the Church as a catechist three years in Zhengzhou, another important town in the province. He was subsequently ordained priest in 1920, and in charge at Kueiteh. Some of his ancestors had held official positions, and in his youth he had aspired to this, but his interest turned rather to education, because of what he thought was official corruption in the last years of the Qing Dynasty.

Gradually the Church spread to a number of villages around the main centre. White himself was given a motorcycle that he could use on the rough earth roads most of the year. For others it meant the use of the wheelbarrow if they could not walk all the way. Much of the country around Zhengzhou heard the Faith through the energetic voluntary work of Wang Tsu-kuang. By 1940, there were thirty chapels within a radius of ten miles from Kaifeng.

By the mid 1920s, the diocese included eleven parishes, all under Chinese priests-in-charge. Most of them were trying to build up endowment funds, looking to future self-support. But the Canadian staff could not press this too hard, remembering that the Canadian Church itself at that time was still receiving some financial support from the Church of England.

White was twice asked by Henan officials to arbitrate between two warlords whose armies threatened to

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destroy Kaifeng, and did so. He was too much the strong-minded individualist, autocrat, and loner, however, to find cooperation with others easy. Proposed cooperation in education with Canadian Presbyterians in Henan did not take place. He was invited to participate in a co-operative effort with Shandong Christian University, but he declined to do so.

The Diocese of Shandong (Shantung)

In Shandong Province, as indeed in North China as a whole, the Church went forward only slowly, and never extended very widely. Partly this was due to the much greater conservatism of the northern Chinese. But it is also a fact that the mother Churches of the West did not make in North China either the highly concentrated effort in important centres, which was made in the Yangtze valley, or the diffused and widely extended effort over a large area, as was done in parts of the south and west. Less seed was sown, and this could not but affect the harvest.

G.D. Iliff, bishop of the Diocese of Shandong since it had been split off from North China in 1903, was able to ordain to the priesthood John Kao and Benjamin Feng, the first two Chinese in this diocese, on Trinity Sunday 1913. The first two Chinese priests in the North China diocese were ordained on the same day. A cathedral church in Tai'an built of local granite was consecrated in 1915.

Another advance was made when a Church centre was established by Henry Mathews in the town of Yanzhou. The Church opened a hospital here in 1913 under a Chinese doctor. However, it had to close in 1918 for lack of a doctor, and remained closed for some years. A school for the blind was also started by Mathews, where a Chinese Braille system was used to teach reading. The school was mainly run by a catechist called Kao, who was himself blind.

The district of Xintai, sixty miles south east of Tai'an, was the first to be entirely the responsibility of a Chinese priest, John Kao. He had seven catechists and twelve schoolmasters working with him in nine village centres, each of which had a Church school. A new centre was opened at Tungchang, about twenty-three miles north-west of Pingyin, in 1915. Timothy Hsi was priest-in-charge here. He was regarded by some as the ablest of the Chinese clergy. Unsuccessful attempts were made to get a foothold in Chufu, the birthplace of Confucius.

Pingyin remained, apart from Tai'an, the chief Church centre, and a number of catechists were trained here as well as at Yantai. One of them, Li Kuang-hsin, was to gain a widespread and interdenominational reputation as "the Shandong Province prophet." He was a great inspiration to many and did much to help men whose work was pulling barrows. Others of the catechists were eventually ordained. St. Agatha's Hospital here continued. The Chinese manager, the nurses, and the doctor, Margaret Phillips, rode out three or four days a month on ponies to give medical care in the villages. St. Anne's school, Tai'an, was an early example of co-education here.

Bishop Iliff had a long conversation about self-government in the Church in 1913 with the well-known Christian lay leader and traveller John R. Mott. The latter urged that it would be disastrous not to follow the principle of "festina lente." Iliff resigned in 1920, after thirty-one years work in northern China. He was succeeded by T.A. Scott, nephew of C.P. Scott. Soon afterwards, Scott made a tour of Church work in the various centres--in a wheelbarrow. He found that there were very few recent additions to the Church, commenting that it was sad to be told that the last man had been baptised eight or ten years ago. He tried to help Churches to see the danger of a stagnant pool, and the benefit and responsibility of sharing the water. There were now rather more Chinese than foreign clergy in the diocese. Scott was seized and held for some time by brigands while on a tour of Church centres in 1926 with Benjamin Feng. Both were released unharmed.

The diocese made a considerable contribution to the Shandong Christian University (later Cheeloo) at the

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provincial capital, Jinan. It provided for some time three doctors, nurses, and another teacher, and a hostel was built for Anglican students. Dr. F.H. (Robin) Mosse, and Dr. Jocelyn Smyly and his wife Eileen--also a doctor--gave many years devoted medical service here. Chaplaincy work among the English-speaking foreign community continued at Yantai and Weihaiwei. With the approval of the Chinese staff and following consular orders, the Western staff withdrew to the coast in 1927. Scott left John Kao, priest-in-charge of Xintai, in charge as his deputy with such funds as could be secured.

The Diocese of North China

Charles Perry Scott, bishop of the North China diocese since 1880, resigned in 1913 but continued to live mostly in Beijing. Many of his foreign friends in China contributed funds for the chapel he designed at Ch'ung Teh, the large boys' boarding middle school. This memorial to Scott was consecrated by his successor in 1916. All who knew Scott commented on his great patience, humility, and gentleness. He was good at seeing both sides of a question. It was these gifts, rather than more striking ones which enabled him with Bishop Graves' help to bring together the various Anglican missions into the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. He was the first chairman of its General Synod, and more than anyone else its father. His tolerant attitude towards other Christian communions was not universal in those days. This tolerant attitude was shown by his amazement when asked in England regarding China, "Do the Dissenters do much harm?" In 1905 he had given his staff a special address on Christian reunion and its desirability. Frank L. Norris had been Scott's right-hand man and was chosen his successor as bishop. Such appointments were not yet made in China, but the diocesan synod was given a voice in the choice.

The first two Chinese priests in this diocese were not ordained until 1913 on Trinity Sunday. They were Lei Ming-hsia and Li Tsen-lan. Lei Ming-hsia had done good work as a catechist and deacon in Yungching. Li Tsen-lan had virtually started and developed the centre in Anguo. He worked over twenty years in this district, planting churches in many villages in the area. The southern end of the parish was made into another parish, Anping, in the 1920s. Li Tsen-lan encouraged the making of hair-nets as an example of home industries. It was due to him that Church work was begun in T'ang-hsienan area in the hills to the north of Anguo. This was adopted as the diocesan mission centre. On Li's death, a service was arranged locally to unveil a memorial tablet to him in church. It included a sermon by the much loved Belgian Père Vincent Lebbe. This was a most unusual link in those days and long afterwards between Roman Catholics and other Christians.

During most of this period, there was little anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling or activity in this area. There was however much upheaval and civil strife that affected all alike, but especially those whose work involved much travel. Chinese and Western Church workers faced continual perils as they went round the villages. The English priest Frederick Day was killed by undisciplined soldiers near Anguo (Ch'ichou) in March 1912, apparently while intervening humanely to prevent looting. F.S. Hughes escaped only by what seemed a miracle. Many children were left destitute after famine. Hughes and his wife opened a home in a village called Mili about twenty five miles from Anguo in 1912 for fifty such orphan girls. The next year the Church, in memory of Frederick Day, opened in Anguo a small hospital and a preaching hall.

Small hospitals with Chinese doctors in charge were opened by the Church at Hejian (1915), Yungching (1920), and Anguo. Country towns were thought particularly suitable places for mission hospitals, since they served big areas where otherwise no modern medical service was available. The diocese also contributed staff to the Beijing Union Medical College and Hospital. The Anglican St. Luke's Hospital in Beijing was closed in 1918. In the early 1920s, a sanatorium was built in the Western Hills for girls in the early stages of tuberculosis.

The Diocese of Shaanxi (Shensi)

One of the first acts of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui in 1912 was to discuss the starting of a new mission area independent of Western control. At its second meeting in 1915, the General Synod set up a Board of Missions to do this, with Huang Chi-t'ing (S.C.) as general secretary. It was decided to start work in Xi'an, the provincial capital of Shaanxi (Shensi), though it was nominally in the diocese of North China. Even though other Christian bodies had begun work there, no Anglican presence had been established. The surface of need and opportunity had been only scratched.

Shaanxi had been a great centre of Chinese history and culture. Xi'an was the capital of China in the great Tang dynasty (620-907 A.D.). With a population of about one million at that time, it was perhaps the largest city in the world, and was the beginning of the famous Silk Road to the West. Xi'an had been the first known centre of the Christian faith in China. A stone tablet dug up in 1625 records how Nestorian Christians, probably from Iran, reached Xi'an in 635 A.D. and were welcomed by the great T'ang T'ai Tsong. This tablet, set up in 781, was probably buried by Christians about sixty years later, to save it from destruction when the Emperor repressed Buddhism and other religions regarded as non-Chinese.

Chinese Anglican missionaries faced great difficulties in Xi'an. Xi'an was six hundred miles southwest of Beijing, but seemed much more remote. The difficulties and expense of travel, much of it by mule cart, made it seem extremely isolated. The climate was severe, and the language and food were difficult for Chinese from the South. Additionally, there were not two peaceful years in two decades. The brigandage made itineration round the villages dangerous.

The first two missionaries, Ko P'i-lu (D.M. Koeh) and P'u Hua-ren (Paul), began work in September, 1916; both were clergy from the Shanghai diocese. Bishop White from Henan and Huang Chi-t'ing (S.C.) had made preliminary visits prior to this. Naturally, neither Ko nor P'u spoke the national language as did Huang, a native of Hubei (Hupeh), and he therefore stayed with them for their first few months in Xi'an. Huang had nearly been detained by force by the governor of Hubei Province, who wanted him to be magistrate of a particularly turbulent town.

Developments were continuous. A house was rented and a school was opened in 1917. A catechist, Sun Ch'üen-tung came from Shandong Province. In 1918 a teacher, Wei Hsi-jung, came from Fujian Province. In 1920 a priest, Tung Hsüen-ch'ing (H.C.) came from Shandong Province, and a deacon, Tsai Hsiung-t'ing came from Zhejiang in 1922. Outposts were started in some of the villages and towns. The first two baptisms were in 1918 and by 1924 about three hundred people had been won to faith in Christ. The staff of the mission changed a good deal.

Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) succeeded Huang as General Secretary of the Board of Missions in 1921. Ch'en Tsung-liang (Archie) was President of the Board of Missions from 1920. Ch'en was more responsible than anyone else for raising the endowment fund for the Shaanxi bishopric and later became treasurer of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. He had come from a poor Christian family in Hankou but was able to attend the Boone school and to eventually become its principal. For financial reasons he took a position with a large British trading company when his daughter needed medical treatment at the Beijing Union Medical College. Eventually he found that he could not, as he had tried to do, stop "squeeze." So he retired and gave the rest of his life to unpaid lay service of the Church. In the great Yangtze flood of 1931, he had served as executive secretary to Sir John Hope Simpson for famine relief. He died of typhus in 1942.

Several dioceses of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui assessed the need for funds for Shaanxi, and special appeals for buildings or other purposes were issued. No support other than prayer was asked of, or received from, the West. The 1924 General Synod resolved to look to the formation of a diocese of Shaanxi (Shensi). In 1925, the devoted deaconess Liu I-lan (Dorcas) came from Hankou. She worked selflessly in women's prisons, teaching illiterate women to read, and helping the needy. When Xi'an was besieged by the Communists in 1927, near-famine conditions prevailed, and she died of illness brought on by her selfless work. Her brother Liu I-hsiung (Nelson) also worked in Shaanxi for over a year. Bishop Norris ordained Sun Ch'üen-tung as a deacon while on a visit.

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In view of the hard conditions of life, it is perhaps not surprising that communism came to have an appeal to more than a few in Shaanxi. One of the early mission staff in fact was led by it to abandon the Christian faith.



Shen Tzū-kao and John G. Magee (1937)

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The historical context

The establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanjing in 1928 meant a new day for China. Of course, not all was changed overnight, but there was unquestionably a tremendous outburst of energetic construction of a new China⁴, especially in the areas of education, social customs, and mercantilism. The supporters of new and modern attitudes had come definitely and finally into power, whereas before they had been one of several conflicting forces. The transfer of the capital to Nanjing from the old capital in the more conservative North intentionally symbolized this. There arose new government schools for girls as well as boys, new roads accessible to motors, factory legislation, and modern legislation of all sorts. After the disastrous Yangtze floods in 1931 the government undertook flood relief on a large scale, practically for the first time in history. A Christian Chinese wrote in 1929 of the silent revolution occurring in attitudes toward women. Equal opportunities and rights with men were given to women in legal and social life; Chinese women were now competing with their brothers in every walk of life.⁵ Sunday became increasingly a day of change from regular routine, though shops, apart from a few modern stores, kept long hours and were open seven days a week.

Rapid change did not lead to an era of stability and gradual peaceful progress, but rather the reverse. A section of the Guomindang split away, wanting a China closer to the Confucian model, with power in the hands of a centralized bureaucracy (in this case, the Communist party) rather than a representative democracy. There continued to be civil war for many years. It appeared to many Westerners in China in the 1930s that the rise of a new and modern China alarmed the military junta then in power in Japan. For centuries, Japan had lived in the shadow of her great neighbour, and had been culturally and otherwise dependent on her; she had often felt herself to be haughtily treated by China. Japan was well-suited by China's weakness during the nineteenth century, and was unhappy with the prospect of a strong and modern neighbour. And so, before things went too far, the Japanese military used a bomb incident in September 1931 on the Japanese-controlled South Manchuria railway as a pretext and annexed the three eastern provinces. This eventually led in July 1937 to a full-scale invasion. By the end of 1937 virtually all the coast was under Japanese control. The Chinese government moved first to Wuhan, and later to Chongqing as the Japanese advanced. The civil war in China was suspended by an uneasy alliance between the Nationalists and the Communists.

With the defeat of Japan by the Allies in August 1945, the civil war in China resumed. On one occasion, a group of about thirty non-Roman Christian leaders, including some Anglicans, had an interview with Chiang Kai-shek in an attempt at mediation. Chiang finally got angry and reproached them, saying that the Roman Catholics had come out a hundred percent in favour of the Central Government against the Communists. The civil war prevented the implementation of many things, including the National Health Service planned in 1944.

The development of the Church

The establishment of the Nationalist government brought with it a new day for Christianity in China. The Church survived, purified in some respects by the troubles of 1927-28. There tended now to be less anti-Christian criticism except from avowed Communists. Whereas Christians had once been blamed for their advocacy of schools for girls, and for their opposition to footbinding, they were now criticised unfairly for teaching that women should be obedient and submissive.

⁴Panikkar in *Asia and Western Dominance* pointed out on p. 289 that the notable achievement of the Guomindang in the first ten years of its administration should not be forgotten because of its later record. This, however, is often done.

⁵Gideon Chen in *China Christian Yearbook*, 1929, pp. 102-103.

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Upon gaining power, the Nationalist government quickly decreed that in order for all schools and colleges to be recognized by the government they must have Chinese heads, and also have a Chinese majority on the boards of governors. These regulations made little difficulty for most Anglican and Christian schools. The government also decreed that no institution might have as its purpose the propagation of religion. This was interpreted to mean that there might be no compulsory religious instruction or worship during teaching hours or on the premises of the institution. There was some concern that this was a fatal blow to the Christian motive and purpose of an institution. St. John's in Shanghai was able to continue for a time without obeying the regulations, but it did so without government recognition. Most of its graduates went to work in Shanghai. However, most other institutions accepted the regulations in preference to closing. They found that enough students came voluntarily to Christian worship to maintain their Christian character. The government-prescribed weekly ceremony of reading Sun Yat-sen's will and bowing three times to his portrait was also accepted by most as having a purely civil and patriotic meaning rather than religious.

Henry Venn, an early secretary of the CMS, had argued as early as 1854 that the aim of Christian missions should be to establish self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches. Most missionaries would have agreed in principle to this, at least as a distant goal, but practical problems (such as continued dependence on financial help from abroad) hindered its realization. After 1927 there was a renewed push to put these ideas into place, as quickly as possible, but not all Chinese agreed with the proposal of rapid transition. Chao Tzū-ch'en (T.C) warned in the *China Christian Yearbook* of 1931 that rapid transition might require more capable Chinese leadership than was then available. At its 1928 meeting in Jerusalem, the International Missionary Council, with a large Asian and African membership, trenchantly criticized the Three-Self formula as too Western, and too much concerned with organization.

At the sixth meeting of the General Synod in 1928, Chinese were for the first time elected as chairman (Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel)) and secretary of the House of Delegates. Dr. T'ang Tsong-mu (T.M.) was elected as dean of the Central Theological School in Nanjing, which now had twenty-three students for a three year course. The bishop of West China was encouraged to arrange for the consecration as (assistant) bishops of two of his Chinese clergy.

Synods had always had a majority of Chinese members. They had before this often expressed a desire that the Church in Europe and the U.S.A. should continue to send foreign staff to China. Henceforth, more and more missionaries were invited individually for particular work and Chinese leaders had at least a share in their appointments in China. They came increasingly as partners, and usually to work under Chinese leaders, even while most of the bishops were still foreigners. The Student Christian Movement Press was publishing series of essays by Chinese Christians, such as "China Today through Chinese Eyes" and "As it Seems to Young China". T.Z. Koo, student leader, appealed to students in the English universities for help from the experienced Churches of the West.

The Lambeth Conference of 1930 formally recognised the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui as a completely independent and self-governing member of the worldwide Anglican Communion. It was admitted on the same footing as the Anglican or Episcopal Church in, for example, the U.S.A. or Australia. As long as the Chinese Church thought it worthwhile to receive financial help and personnel from the West, its independence was in practice limited but the principle was there. The presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., however, after a visit to China in 1933, commented that Church leaders in the West were not yet conscious of the maturity of the Church in China.

The outlook for Christianity in China and indeed for general social reform was probably more favourable in the early 1930s than it had ever been before. Chiang Kai-shek's baptism into the Methodist Church was representative of this optimism. Europe and the U.S.A. were awakening to the significance of China. In earlier days missionaries and Westerners had tended to paint an unduly black picture of China, almost as black as the picture of total depravity of pre-1949 China that later became official Communist dogma. We see now with hindsight that Christians, Chinese and Western, in the 1930s perhaps erred in being unrealistically optimistic

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and indiscriminately appreciative. They forgot the universal fact of human weakness and original sin.

The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui played a big part in the "Five Year Movement" sponsored by the National Christian Council. This movement began in January 1930, partly as a response to the growing Communist challenge. Its aim was the renewal of the Church, combined with, and as a step towards, evangelism. It was hoped that at the end of the five years, the number of Christians would have doubled. Though this hope was not realized, the movement did have considerable effect. The opposition to Christianity was now realistically seen as secularism rather than the largely moribund Chinese religions.

The Five Year Movement had six special emphases: evangelism, religious education, literacy, Christianizing the home, stewardship, and young people. Usually the fourth week of October was kept with special emphasis on the Christian home. Guidelines for health standards were recommended as part of this, and the teaching of hygiene and prevention of disease was to save many lives. Dr. Chao Tzū-ch'en (T.C) described the Christian home as one of the great contributions of Christianity to China. In connexion with the movement, Christians were encouraged to say each day the prayer, "O Lord, revive thy Church, beginning with me." The movement was eventually extended well beyond the five years originally envisaged.

The seventh meeting of the General Synod took place in 1931 in Hangzhou. All services and speeches were for the first time in the national language. Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.) was chairman of the House of Delegates and F.L. Norris was presiding bishop. The enthusiasm and persistence of Ch'en Tsung-liang (Archie) resulted in the oversubscription of the endowment fund for a bishopric of Shaanxi. It was decided that the Synod at its next meeting should elect a diocesan bishop for Shaanxi.

There were discussions surrounding the production of a version of the Book of Common Prayer that all the dioceses would use, instead of the several different translations of the English and American prayer books actually in use in the various dioceses. Work was also being done on a hymnal that would include hymns by Chinese, using Chinese (pentatonic) music as well as translations of Western hymns. A provisional hymnbook was presented to the General Synod, approved for use at all the services, and authorised for trial use for the next three years. It was largely the work of Louise Hammond and Ernest Y. Yang. Before the next meeting of the General Synod, however, the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui was invited to join with other communions to produce an interdenominational hymnbook. This it did, with Louise Hammond, Ernest Yang, Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.), and W.R.O. Taylor on the committee. Dr. T.T. Liu (Congregationalist) was chairman. The hymnal came to be generally used both in the ZSH and in other non-Roman communions. The final publication entitled "Hymns of Universal Praise" included sixty-two original Chinese hymns and 452 translations. Seventy-two of the tunes were original compositions in China, and 474 were from different Western sources. The book made a real contribution to the growth of indigenous worship, and the ZSH share in it was very considerable.⁶

Communicants increased from about 22,000 in 1923 to over 32,000 in 1934. Other adherents were 26,000 in 1923 and 28,000 in 1934. There were 268 Chinese clergy in 1934 compared to 177 in 1923. The foreign staff numbered 570 in 1934, compared to 703 in 1923. Some people regretted the fall in foreign staff due to retrenchment. It was emphasized that grants-in-aid should not be reduced, though these were in any case relatively small. The Church of England for example, gave to the Church in China only one fifth of the financial aid it gave to India, Burma, and Ceylon, and one quarter of what it gave to all of Africa.

At the eighth General Synod meeting held at Wuhu in 1934, Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.) was elected as the first bishop of Shaanxi. He was the first Chinese to be in charge of an Anglican diocese, a real step forward. The 1934 Synod also authorised the use of laymen to administer the chalice at the Eucharist. The Synod's Standing Committee on Church Unity invited other Christian communions to a conference on church unity, which met in January 1935 with Bishop Roots in the chair. It recommended the establishment of groups of Friends of

⁶It has to be admitted that very often the Western staff were more concerned than the Chinese to promote the use of Chinese (pentatonic) music.

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Church Unity wherever this was possible. A second such conference in January 1937 included representatives from Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Church of Christ. The war with Japan prevented further meetings that had been planned.

In 1934 Chiang Kai-shek launched a New Life Movement to revitalise the nation. This movement combined Confucian ethics with Old Testament morality, with the motive of encouraging public spirit alongside the family loyalties that too easily led to corruption in official life. The movement also encouraged cleanliness and orderliness. So far as it went, it could be and was supported by Christians. But, it was not very effective.

In the autumn of 1935 the three dioceses in the Yangtze valley, Shanghai, Anqing, and Hankou, commemorated the centenary of the start of work among Chinese by American Anglicans. All churches held memorial services in celebration. There was also a united service in the Church of Our Saviour in Shanghai with more than a thousand persons present, including representatives from the Anqing and Hankou dioceses. A substantial thank offering was sent to the Church in the U.S.A.

Early in 1937 there seemed to be a turn for the better in the very strained relations between China and Japan. Bishop Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) of Henan made a deep impression in April when he went from the Silver Jubilee of the General Synod of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui in Fuzhou to the Golden Jubilee of the Japanese Shenggong Hui in Tokyo. He took warm and brotherly greetings when he went. Unofficial contacts between Christians of the two countries were not lacking during those years of war or virtual war. The 1937 General Synod also appointed delegates to attend the Conference on Life and Work held in Oxford, the Conference on Faith and Order held in Edinburgh, and the 1938 meeting of the International Missionary Council.

When much of China was occupied by the Japanese military during the years of declared war (1937-45), there was a vast exodus to unoccupied western China. Christian Chinese and foreign staff naturally shared in this, but the bulk of the population could not but remain in occupied China, and the Church continued its work there as best it could. Many of the foreign staff continued work until December 8, 1941 when the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour brought Japan into the European war on the side of the Axis powers. The great majority of the non-Roman missionaries remaining in occupied China were then interned because they were Allied nationals. Many Christian colleges and middle schools, and much of the more educated section of the population migrated to the west of China. They continued there as best they could, and in fact helped considerably the extension of the Church.

The Japanese occupying forces often used churches for barracks or stables, but there were some cases in which they respected the churches. Other church buildings were simply destroyed as a result of fighting or air-raids; nearly a half of church property and equipment was either lost or destroyed. About a quarter of Church members were lost, at least in the sense that the Church lost contact with them. Financial and other hardships bore harshly on them. Not the least of those afflicted were the clergy; in order to keep body and soul together, many had to get what they could in the way of second jobs. The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui lost all the endowments that it had been building up devotedly. After the war, Bishop R.O. Hall likened the Chinese Church to a freed prisoner-of-war, deeply in need of double rations of prayer, of sympathy, and of financial aid.

During the war years the Church did much to care for the wounded. It had its own hospitals, dressing-stations, and trained medical personnel to care for the civilian and military wounded. Much help was given with refugee camps. It also cooperated with the government and Red Cross, or similar agencies. The government envisioned the need for 600 hospitals for the postwar period. It had been hoped that about 260 would be connected with one or other of the Christian missions, with grants towards their upkeep available without unreasonable strings.

The war did indeed have one good result, and that was to end mission dominance. The withdrawal through internment or otherwise of all mission staff from most of the dioceses effected this. In the 1930s and 1940s it became increasingly the case that local church approval was necessary for new staff from abroad to arrive,

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and for Western staff to return from furlough. Sometimes approval was refused.

The mother Churches had themselves suffered heavily in World War II. The Church of England raised a special fund of £100,000 (the "Archbishops' Fund"). This was put at the disposal of the House of Bishops and the General Synod. It was decided that some of these funds were to be used as grants for immediate relief to various dioceses initiated by the Church of England. A large part of it, however, was to be used for endowments for clergy pensions and episcopal stipends. The American Church gave no less than two and three quarter million dollars. A visiting commission from the U.S.A. recommended grants to various projects. An appeal from the House of Bishops in China that the money should be put at its disposal was not accepted.

The General Synod met in Shanghai in August 1947, the first time it had met since 1937. Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel), Bishop of Henan, was elected Chairman of the House of Bishops in succession to T.A. Scott. Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.) was its secretary. Dr. Wei Cho-min (Francis) was elected chairman, Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy), vice chairman, and Lin Pu-chi, secretary, of the House of Delegates. A new central office was set up with Bishop Tsu Yu-yū as first general secretary. Bishop Tsu was a graduate of St. John's, and of General Theological Seminary, New York; he also had a Ph.D from Columbia University.

The synod decided that the Nanning area of Guangxi should be set apart as a separate district, with the anticipation that in a few years it would become a full diocese. A new diocese of Yun-Kuei was established. This included Anglican work in the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou. Preparation of a draft Prayer Book to be used by the whole Zhonghua Shengggong Hui was entrusted to Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.), who was to be helped by regional committees. A draft was to be presented to the next triennial meeting of the General Synod. Liu Yao-ch'ang (Newton) was elected as Bishop of Shaanxi (Shensi), succeeding Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.), who had resigned to be dean of the Central Theological School. The Central Theological School buildings had been badly damaged in the war, and it was temporarily housed in St. John's University. The Board of Directors was to consider carefully its permanent location.

A committee of seven was appointed to organize a three-year forward movement. Two members were chosen by the House of Bishops and five by the House of Delegates. Steps were taken to inaugurate a badly needed pension fund for clergy and other church workers. Another committee was appointed to study the question of transferring Church property to the Chinese Church. Much of this property legally still belonged to the missions. The findings of this study were to be given to the Standing Committee. The difficulty about this was that the Government had not yet recognized the Zhonghua Shengggong Hui as a legal corporation.⁷

Other new ground was broken when the diocese of South China submitted a resolution that for an experimental period of twenty years a deaconess might, under certain conditions, be ordained to the priesthood. This resolution followed the ordination of deaconess Li T'ien-ai (Florence) to the priesthood during the war by Bishop Hall. The Synod referred to the Lambeth Conference the question whether or not such liberty to experiment would be in accordance with Anglican tradition and order.⁸ The Tenth General Synod also decided that the Zhonghua Shengggong Hui should become a member of the World Council of Churches, then in process of formation.

The new chairman of the House of Bishops (often known as the presiding bishop) was Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel). Tsen was born about 1885 and had had a far from privileged youth. In addition to his own ability

⁷Thus, mission property was sometimes transferred and held in the name of leading local Church people.

⁸Report of the Tenth General Synod of the ZSH., p. 5f. The Lambeth conference of 1948 felt bound to say that in its opinion such liberty to experiment would be against Anglican tradition and order, and would gravely affect its internal and external relations of the Anglican Communion. This is found in the 1948 Lambeth Conference report, Part I, p. 52. This was, of course, purely advisory and not binding. However, it was in effect accepted by the ZSH.

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and persistence, he was helped by F.E. Lund, an American priest of Swedish background with whom he had made contact as a schoolboy in Wuhu. He also was helped by the Chinese priest Li Yüan-mo. Prior to his attendance at Boone University at Wuchang, Tsen was a year at St. John's Middle School. At Boone he organised a St. Peter's Society of students pledged to the service of God. Later he was ordained and then became headmaster of St. James High School at Wuhu. After the 1911 revolution, while still quite young, he was offered a place in the new government. He was the first Chinese to be head of the House of Delegates of the General Synod in 1928. He was consecrated assistant bishop of Henan in 1929 and became its diocesan bishop in 1934.

Several other notable Chinese Christians bear mentioning. Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.), Bishop of Shaanxi from 1934, had been the first Chinese in charge of an Anglican diocese. He had been concerned for some years with the production of a Chinese Prayer Book that could be used in all dioceses. He was also the first Chinese to preach in Westminster Abbey. Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy) had since 1928 been headmaster of Ch'ung Teh School, Beijing. Originally from Guangzhou, he had been educated at St. John's at Shanghai, and at Emmanuel College and Westcott House, Cambridge. Lin was most unusual in being a fifth generation Christian. His father was a prominent Churchman in Beijing and held a leading position in the Bank of China.

Wei Cho-min (Francis), also from Guangzhou, was at Boone University as a student and member of the staff. He had studied at Harvard and received a Ph.D. in London. He also studied in Germany and had lectured at Yale and throughout the U.S.A. Dr. Wei was highly regarded as one of the chief Chinese Christian educationalists, and was longtime president of Huazhong University (Central China).⁹

Among Christian Chinese, Wu Lei-ch'uan was outstanding for his Chinese scholarship. He was an old Hanlin scholar, and was for some time vice-president and vice-chancellor of Yenching University. Chao Tzū-ch'en (T.C.) was another one of China's outstanding Christian scholars. He was a long-time Methodist (of the U.S. southern variety), and was ordained into the Anglican ministry in 1941. He had been one of the Chinese delegates to the International Missionary Council Conference in 1938 at Tambaram, Madras. When the World Council of Churches was inaugurated in 1948, he became one of its six Presidents.

Anglican laymen were making an impact in the secular world at this time also. Wang Chen-t'ing (C.T.) and Ku Wei-chün (Wellington Koo) had at different times been Foreign Minister and Wang had also been Prime Minister. Wu Kuo-cheng (C.T.) was the powerful mayor of Shanghai, and Chang Ch'ün was President of the Executive Yüan, and in effect its Prime Minister. The excellence of the Chinese Anglican leadership was widely admitted and admired by other Christian communions. It was largely the result of the concentration of resources in the Yangtze Valley dioceses on St. John's University, and also Huazhong (Central China) University (Boone). Part of the price paid for this concentration on higher education was a less wide extension of the Faith in rural areas, at least in the short run. One of the bishops in this region is said to have remarked that St. Paul had always worked in towns, so why should he travel around the country?

Statistically, the Anglicans remained a small body--no more than about one-tenth of the non-Roman Christian community (and three out of four Christians in China were Roman Catholics.)¹⁰ The 1949 Yearbook showed a constituency of just under 67,000, including catechumens. This compared with nearly 79,000 in

⁹Lectures by him, given at Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass., and Union Theological Seminary, New York, were published as *The Spirit of Chinese Culture* (Scribner's 1947).

¹⁰The National Christian Council in 1933 issued figures showing 77,000 members of the ZSH, compared with 177,000 Church of Christ in China (mainly Congregational and Presbyterian); 103,000 Methodists of American origin; 44,000 Methodists of British provenance (these were two distinct denominations, with not even an agreed upon Chinese rendering of the word "Methodist"); 86,000 China Inland Mission; and 65,000 each Lutherans and Baptists.

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1936. The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui's influence, however, was large in proportion to its relatively small numbers. It appealed probably more than some communions to the more thinking and educated people. Some thought it unduly cautious and conservative and it was, at least in some areas, much slower to baptise, insisting on more preparation than say, for example, the Methodists. Some dioceses, or at least the Churchpeople in them, felt more of a bond with the headquarters of the mission in the West than with the other dioceses of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. There was general agreement that Anglican worship, for all its possible weaknesses, made a real contribution to the general Christian movement with its dignity, order, and reverence. Its moderate ritual was attractive in contrast to the Roman Church, which was reminiscent of that of the Buddhists and the popular superstitions attached to it.

Financial self-support was far from complete in spite of efforts over many years. This was especially true in regards to institutions such as hospitals, schools, and colleges. In general, the long Sino-Japanese war had in many respects weakened the Church. There remained many problems, the most intractable of which was the provision of an adequate ordained leadership. This was a problem common to all the churches, though perhaps not so crucial for the Protestant denominations as for the Anglicans. The Anglicans had an ordained leadership that was outstanding by 1946, but even so there were weak spots. It was becoming perhaps even more difficult than it had been in the past to recruit really able and well educated men for the ordained ministry. Educated Chinese sometimes held aloof from the corporate life and worship of the Church because many clergy were not well educated.

The possibility of a Communist take-over of China had been looming up at least ever since the war against Japan. The Guomindang was steadily becoming more corrupt and ineffective. In fact, the Communist victory in 1948-9 came to many Christians as a relief for it ended a long period of uncertainty. None could know just what it would involve, either for the country in general or for the Church. The foreign staff nearly all hoped that the new government would be quickly recognized by foreign countries. The first results were not catastrophic. The Communist troops were well disciplined, and refrained from looting. There was no immediate interference with Christian worship, as there had been previously in areas under Communist control, nor was there any immediate move to expel foreigners.

The National Christian Council urged in 1949 that all church bodies, Christian organizations, and institutions become completely Chinese in administration in the immediate future. Yet, it was still able to express a desire for the continued help of mission boards with both funds and personnel. By 1950 the remaining Western bishops resigned their office, and Chinese were elected in their place. When Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) had to resign as presiding bishop because of ill-health, Ch'en Chien-tsen (Robin) was elected in his place.

In May, 1950 the founding group of the "Three-Self Movement" drew up a strongly anti-Western and political "Christian Manifesto", in consultation with Premier Chou En-lai. Great pressure was exercised on all non-Roman Christians to sign it and a great many did so. The Standing Committee of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui and the now Chinese House of Bishops declined to do so, demonstrating great courage. In its place they issued a Pastoral Letter. This stated that imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism are fundamentally against the Faith of the Church, and therefore were to be opposed. It welcomed national liberation, and gave hearty support to the Common Platform (provisional constitution), which guaranteed freedom of religious belief. It also expressed the belief that God is Lord of all the universe, and referred to some of the duties of the Church. Its main theme was religious, fully recognizing the political obligations that Christian faith involved. It did not put party politics above Christian faith.

No further grants from the West could be received after December 1950. All Christian institutions such as hospitals, schools, and colleges were in effect taken over without compensation. The presence of foreign staff raised suspicion of the Chinese Church as an agency of the American or British governments. Even though few if any of the foreigners were deported, the Chinese Bishops asked the Westerners to leave, and by the end of 1951 virtually none of them were still in China. There was a period of great pressure on Christians to denounce as traitors and spies those who had been friends and colleagues. These denunciations by those who

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held leading positions in the Church was a tragic and sad occurrence. Some did their best to minimize the harm done by choosing to denounce missionaries or Christian Chinese who could not be touched because they were either dead or no longer in China. There were few, if any, actual executions, but an increased number were driven to take their own lives. Many were imprisoned and many were driven to insincerity. Christians were constantly accused of putting religion above politics, and blamed for this. In the early years of the People's Republic, Christians were the victims of terrible violence, but after 1952 there seems to have been much less of this, at least until the period of the Cultural Revolution in 1967 and the years following. There existed for all practical purposes a communications black-out between China and other countries after 1951. The "bamboo curtain" was certainly no figment of a journalist's imagination.

The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui and Christianity in general were far too well established for the mere withdrawal of foreign staff and financial help to have catastrophic effects. The Church had long been working towards these developments. There were those who thought the time ripe, even overdue, for them. By many they were positively welcomed. The pressure on the Church was inevitable in a totalitarian regime which claimed to control the whole of a person's life, and this was another matter. However, for some years the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui was able to continue an existence that seemed shadowy for the outsider observer. For example, at the Lunar New Year in 1953 in Shanghai, special meetings were held as usual at that time of year, for the purpose of Bible study and proclaiming the Faith. The sale of Christian literature continued and congregations were steadily maintained. This was especially true in congregations where the sermons were centered on the Bible and avoided a strident political tone. There appeared to be a weariness with propaganda and a thirst for something deeper.

The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui central office was now publishing a monthly bulletin called *Sheng Kung* (Sacred Work) that was distributed without charge to duly registered members. In 1955, the ZSH reported a membership of more than 42,000 church members—it is not clear whether or not this included catechumens. This figure was in comparison to nearly 80,000 in 1949, a severe drop, but not surprising considering all the repression. Just how much repression and persecution there was must remain in question owing to the lack of reliable news. However, Bishop Teng Shu-k'un (Kimber Den) of Zhejiang was imprisoned for some years, and he was only one of many. There were numbers of suicides, and no religious freedom in any real sense. So, there can be no doubt as to the existence of repression.

Three new bishops were consecrated in 1955. Ting Kuang-hsün represented Zhejiang and Hsieh Ping-hsi (Moses) and Liu Yü-ts'ang (Y.T.) represented Fujian. The Standing Committee and House of Bishops met in Shanghai in May 1956. All the bishops apparently were present, and Ch'en Chien-tsen (Robin) was the presiding bishop. They declared that before 1949, the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui as an autonomous Chinese national Church existed only in name. It had been dependent on forces related to colonialism and had been subject to the influence of those forces. The Church's acceptance of Western ways of thought and life had created a barrier between the Church and the people of China. The bishops declared that the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui had now begun its existence as a truly Chinese and truly nationally organised Church.

The 1956 meeting looked forward to having a Book of Common Prayer that would be used in all dioceses. Clergy and Churchpeople were commended for their faithfulness, and reminded of their responsibilities in various directions; the family was particularly stressed. Holy Trinity Church in Shanghai was dedicated as the National Cathedral of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui.

Later developments, however, did not serve in the best interests of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. The period of free speech in 1957 known as the "Hundred Flowers" ended. Christians who had been encouraged to speak freely, and in fact had done so, were victims of a "rectification" campaign. Chou En-lai had told church leaders in 1950 that denominational distinctions among Christians must go. The representative National Christian Council gradually was replaced by the Three-Self Committee, of which Wu Yao-tsung (Y.T.) was chairman. This committee consisted of prominent Christians who were most completely in sympathy with, and approved by, the Communist authorities. It declared itself to be the governing body of all non-Roman Churches

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in China in 1961. The detailed application of this was apparently left to the various areas, but the effect seems to have been a complete amalgamation of existing bodies in one un-denominational body, or new denomination. For instance, in Beijing sixty-five non-Roman congregations merged into four, and in Shanghai about two hundred merged into twenty-three. In smaller towns all groups merged into one. Anglican influence certainly did not completely die out, and there was some activity by Anglicans or ex-Anglicans. But, the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui as an independent self-governing body of Christian people seems to have ceased to exist in mainland China in 1958.

The Zhonghua Shenggong Hui has continued in that part of the former diocese of Hong Kong and the South China area included in the colony of Hong Kong. A new diocese of Taiwan was created in the 1950s, primarily for those members of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui who had migrated there after the establishment of the People's Republic on the mainland.



Easter service at the St. John's pro-cathedral
Francis L. Hawks Pott and Mao K'eh-tsung in foreground

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The Diocese of Hong Kong and South China

In South China, as in the rest of the country, the 1930s saw a great outburst of building roads passible for motors. Prior to this, travel was limited to a rate of about twenty miles a day, apart from the railway from Kowloon to Guangzhou and the north, and steamer travel on the larger rivers. The new motor roads made a big change in the life of the community as a whole, including the Church. Nevertheless, the diocese still covered a large and unwieldy area. Most of it was Cantonese-speaking, so ordinands could not be sent to the Central Theological School at Nanjing, but were trained at the Union Theological College at Guangzhou. This was interdenominational and affiliated with Lingnan Christian University from 1935. A further division of the diocese, separating out the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou, which spoke the national language, was more and more seen as desirable. In 1940, Tsu Yu-yü was consecrated as assistant bishop of the diocese to have special charge of Church work in Yunnan and Guizhou.

In 1929 the CMS London Committee agreed that the diocesan Board of Missions should have authority over foreign staff. Yet it was not prepared, as the local missionary conference had proposed, to put its block grants at the disposal of the diocesan synod. In 1938 the mission staff expressed to the London Committee the hope that in the future it would not appoint new foreign staff without local consultation.

A new period for the Church began in 1932. R.O. Hall was appointed to replace Bishop C.R. Duppy upon his retirement. Hall had been a great admirer of China and Chinese culture since his visit to Beijing in 1922 for the famous World Student Christian Federation Conference. At that time he was a secretary of the British Student Christian Movement. He was destined to make a great mark during an episcopate of over thirty years. He was nothing if not a far-sighted statesman in Church affairs, always full of new ideas. Predictably, this sometimes led to clashes with the traditional outlook of the London Committee of the CMS, which gave so much help to this diocese. The year 1933 was marked by the death of C.I. Blanchett who had given thirty-two years of service in China.

The Church was growing steadily. In 1935 Archdeacon Mo Shou-tseng (S.C.Mok) was consecrated to be assistant bishop in the diocese. He was given the title of Bishop of Guangzhou (Canton), and was the first man from Guangzhou to be an Anglican bishop. He was already sixty-seven years old when he was consecrated. For nine years until his death in 1943, he travelled incessantly on the mainland, visiting and encouraging the various Church centres. St. Mary's Church combined with the Refuge for Destitute Women (1911) in Causeway Bay, Hong Kong in 1934 to form a parish and it received a full time vicar. A monthly broadcasting service was being done by St. Paul's Church for the many people in the towns of South China who possessed radio-receiving sets.

One of the most significant developments of the 1930s was a new emphasis on rural reconstruction. It was centred on a project in the Zengheng (Tsang Shing) district of Guangdong Province, about thirty miles east of Guangzhou. H.A. Wittenbach directed the project, which included a concerted programme of village education aimed at reducing rural ignorance, poverty, and disease. It was modeled along the lines of Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u (James) well known work in North China. This was particularly in line with the outlook of R.O. Hall, who had always been more conscious than many Churchmen of the Church's social responsibility. Before, but more after the war, the Church in several dioceses initiated and was involved in many cooperatives, which grappled with poverty, rural and otherwise. The Church leper hospital at Beihai moved to a new site outside the town, in accordance with the wishes of the civic authorities. It celebrated its Golden Jubilee. A dispensary at Lienchou depended largely on visits from doctors there.

The BCMS in the Nanning area functioned mainly independently from the rest of the diocese. It was not represented in the diocesan synod before the war. Its finance was controlled independently, and its ordinands were not trained at Guangzhou. In 1937 it had seven parishes and over thirty Church centres. By 1943 it had an elementary Bible School. Its clergy numbered four Chinese and five Western. The General Synod of 1947 recognized this area (West Guangxi and South-West Guangdong Province) as a separate missionary district or

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embryo diocese.

The gap was ever increasing between the salaries that well educated laymen could command, and those that the Church could pay the regular clergy. So, Bishop Hall began ordaining auxiliary clergy about 1938 who would continue in full time secular employment. They would give such help to the Church as they could. A new church was built in 1938 in the growing residential area of Kowloon Tong.

The Japanese occupied Guangzhou in October, 1938 and the church at Shameen was badly damaged in an explosion. The war did not involve the colony of Hong Kong until December 8, 1941. At that time the Japanese quickly overcame the British garrison. Fortunately, Bishop Hall was in England at the time helping to organise the United Aid to China Fund. Some other Western staff were away, and they also were able to get to West China to serve the Church there. Likewise, many Chinese from Hong Kong and Guangzhou were able to do so. Internment came sooner or later for the Western staff still in the diocese. Two of them were imprisoned in the prisoner of war camp where conditions were very bad and one died. Several Chinese were killed trying to rescue E.W.L. Martin and his wife from brutal treatment by Japanese soldiers.

Dr. Charles Harth was able to protect the cathedral from sacrilege and much damage. R.O. Hall ordained deaconess Li T'ien-ai (Lee Tim-oi) (Florence) to the priesthood in 1944 because of the war circumstances. This allowed the Churchpeople in Macao to have opportunity for the sacraments. After the war, the Church continued with such change as the times made necessary or desirable. Huang K'uei-yüan (Quentin) succeeded Tsu Yu-yü as suffragan bishop. He came from the Anqing diocese. Li Ch'iu-en (Lee Kao-yan) was appointed archdeacon of Hong Kong.

The tremendous influx of refugees from Communist China brought many problems. A smaller proportion of the Europeans in Hong Kong were committed Christians than formerly. Many new parishes were established in the colony, but the Anglicans became a smaller section of the Christian community, with the arrival of many Roman Catholic and Protestant missions and missionaries from China.

The BCMS had Church centres in a number of towns and villages, including (besides Nanning) Wuming, Shangsi, and P'umiao, in South Guangxi, and some in Guangdong. Most had to close during the war and did not reopen afterwards, for they had not been able to put down deep enough roots. After the war, much work was done in villages round Nanning among the Chuang (Tai) aboriginals, who, of course, could not read Chinese. By 1951, W. Stott had translated St. Mark's Gospel into the phonetic script previously devised for the Chuang people.

Contacts between China and the outside world became virtually impossible from about 1951. Consequently, the Church in the colony could no longer function as part of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. It was renamed the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macao. The Archbishop of Canterbury acted for the presiding bishop, and it functioned as a "detached diocese of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui". The larger part of the diocese within the People's Republic continued as best it could under the leadership of the suffragan bishop Mo Yung-hsien. In 1955 he was elected and confirmed as diocesan bishop of the diocese of South China. In this year, R.O. Hall was able briefly to visit the mainland, and he reported that the Church was growing and vigorous. Hall retired in 1966, and was succeeded by Gilbert Baker. Baker was succeeded in 1981 by Kuang Kuang-chieh (Peter). The Anglicans had in the colony, the island, and its dependent territory on the mainland about thirty places of worship. Of the sixty priests serving these places of worship (not all of them full time), forty were Chinese. There were also a total of forty primary and twenty-two secondary schools.

The Diocese of Fujian

Transportation improved in Fujian Province in the 1930s, as elsewhere. Bishop Hind was able for the first time to visit some of his important Church centres such as Putian and Xianyou entirely by car, which was much faster than by boat or by sedan-chair. The diocese faced problems similar to other dioceses all over China,

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and common to all Christian communions. One of these was the struggle towards financial self-support. All were committed to self-support; the question was only how fast it could be realised. In this respect, Fujian was as advanced as any diocese.

The London Committee of CMS felt a need to retrench in 1923. It produced a scheme by which its twenty years of financial help would be withdrawn by stages. This caused consternation in the Fujian Church and Bishop Hind said that it would strangle rather than stimulate the Church. He suggested that it would be better to withdraw foreign staff rather than the grants-in-aid. He emphasised that the Fujian Church was still weak. Without outstanding local leadership in control, there would be a tendency to slip back into superstition and idolatry, if left to itself. The diocese shared his unhappiness about the lack of consultation on the plan with them and the scheme was eventually withdrawn. It was claimed that this diocese was nearer to complete financial self-support than any other diocese, but it was done on a corporate basis, rather than individual parishes becoming financially independent. Independence was achieved in other ways. The synod became responsible in 1928 for making requests for foreign mission staff, and also for their location and withdrawal.

Conditions were disturbed in the early 1930s in Fujian as elsewhere in China. In June 1930, Eleanor Harrison and Edith Nettleton, two CMS missionaries on their way to the coast on consular orders, were captured by a roving band of Communists. A ransom was demanded for them, but it was refused; it was thought that to have given in to the demand would have endangered the lives of many. They and several Christian Chinese with them were then murdered. Bishop Ch'en Yün-en (Ding Ing-ong) was captured by bandits while on a confirmation tour of the Gutian district in 1933 and held prisoner for a month. The cousin of Michael Chang (a later bishop), the cousin's wife, and all of his family were killed in one district. A teacher and his wife were murdered in another in 1934.

The medical work of the diocese continued. The hospital at Kaosanshih had to close in 1935. The CMS maintained a small hospital at Xianyou as a branch of the one at Putian, but it closed in 1935. At this same site two years later a union hospital was set up in conjunction with the (American) Methodist Episcopal mission. Several of the hospitals were in the charge of Chinese doctors. Ningde hospital specialized in midwifery and diseases of the eye. The Putian hospital received an unusual amount of its operation costs from the local community, although the fees it charged were low and there was much free treatment. It staffed no fewer than five village maternity and child welfare centres and in 1932 had thirty men and women in its medical training school. In November 1939 a big block of the hospital was demolished and seven patients were killed. Village dispensaries were being developed as outposts of the Church hospitals in the 1930s. Responsibility for medical work was not transferred from London to the diocesan synod as it was for education and the synod showed no desire to undertake it.

The number of diocesan schools and educational institutions was considerably reduced after 1927. Many of them had been very small and not all were effective. Some were concentrated in larger units and there was increasing interdenominational co-operation. This pattern was greater after the war, for example in the Fuzhou Union Theological School, and a Union Kindergarten Training School. The CMS staff did not always find cooperation with American Methodists easy. There were several differences that made working together difficult; some felt that the Methodists seemed less concerned with evangelism, and happy with education for its own sake.

Bishop Hind and Bishop Ch'en Yün-en retired in 1940. In Hind's place the synod elected C.B.R. Sargent. Sargent had been assistant bishop for two years, and before that he had been principal of the diocesan boys' school in Hong Kong. Sargent helped to bring new vitality to the diocese, but unfortunately died of the plague in 1943. He was succeeded as bishop by Chang Kuang-hsü (Michael), who, owing to war circumstances, was consecrated in St. John's Guilin. Chang had been as a boy at Trinity College, Fuzhou, and was long on its staff. He was educated also at Kenyon College, Ohio.

Most of Fujian was occupied by the Japanese during the war, but, with the exception of one, all the Chinese clergy, catechists, and Biblewomen stayed at their posts. Church services could continue and no church closed.

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Some of the schools moved to Chong'an (near the Jiangxi Province border). Much was due to the fine leadership of Archdeacon Wang Teh-hsi.

After the war, the diocese inaugurated a Five Year Forward Movement that culminated in 1950, the centenary of the beginning of Anglican work in the province. Two representatives were appointed to the staff of the Fujian Christian University and the Union Theological School, which was now linked with it. The diocese now had nearly 20,000 baptised church members, larger than any other diocese in China. It had 250 churches and thirty-eight clergy. There were many catechists and Biblewomen. In addition to other work, the diocese maintained eight hospitals, four schools for the blind, and eight leper asylums. The governor of the province was a Christian and a great friend of the bishop. The main subject of anxiety was the increasing difficulty in recruiting well educated clergy; the almost impossibly low salaries for them illustrated the need for self-support financially.

The Church continued as best it could after the establishment of the People's Republic. Two assistant bishops, Hsieh Ping-hsi (Moses) and Liu Yü-ts'ang were consecrated in 1955 to relieve pressure on Michael Chang.

The Diocese of Zhejiang

Bishop H.J. Molony, who retired in 1928, had been more realistic, indeed, some believed more somber, in regard to his expectations for the Church in China than many were at the time. He was succeeded as bishop by John Curtis, who had previously served in Fujian with the Dublin University Mission. Curtis was consecrated in Christ Church, Ningbo, at Epiphany in 1929. This was the pro-cathedral of the diocese, and for this occasion Shen Tsai-sheng, the assistant bishop, preached. The service was entirely in Chinese. Bishop Shen retired in 1931 because of old age.

The appointment of Curtis marked a step forward in two ways. Previously there had been thought to be legal difficulties in regard to the consecration of a native of the British Isles outside Britain. Bishops had been appointed by authorities outside China. However, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davison, directed that Molony should submit his resignation to the House of Bishops of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. It accepted the nomination of Curtis—who was Irish and not English—as his successor. Davison also directed that Curtis should be consecrated, not as a bishop of the Church of England, but as bishop of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui Diocese of Zhejiang. The archbishop thus in effect anticipated the formal recognition by the Lambeth Conference of 1930 of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui as a self-governing Church of the Anglican Communion. The "Chinese CMS" came under the diocesan Board of Missions in 1930, and thus into the fellowship of the diocese. It had been started many years before by Chinese laymen.

The Central Theological School at Nanjing, under T'ang Tsong-mu, was now getting into its stride. It had better resources, both teaching and otherwise, than most dioceses could provide on their own. There was also an advantage in having men from different dioceses meet and learn from each other, and an increasing number of dioceses were sending their men to be trained there. Molony had seen the point of it, but the Zhejiang Chinese clergy led by Bishop Shen were much opposed. There was anxiety about alleged "High Church" practices at the Central Theological School. Perhaps the real difficulty, however, was blind loyalty to the old Ningbo divinity class, and to the teaching of W.S. Moule; most of his pupils had been at Trinity College, Ningbo.

Trinity College had been a great nursery for church workers. For some time after 1927, however, it functioned only as a junior middle school. By the time of the Sino-Japanese war it had virtually regained its status as a senior middle school. St. Catherine's girls' school was amalgamated with it in 1932. There was also a girls' middle school, Mary Vaughan, in Hangzhou. The disturbances of 1927 emphasised greatly the need for putting into practice the "Three Selfs". This could be seen as providential. The Church schools in Zhejiang were able to accept and adapt to the Guomindang regulations and limitations.

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S.D. Sturton was appointed medical superintendent of the Hangzhou hospital, Kuang Chi. This had become the largest English-sponsored mission anywhere in the world by 1929. The medical school could not be re-opened after its closure in 1927. Government authorities were now beginning to set up modern hospitals, and Christian institutions were no longer virtually alone in providing modern medical care. The Church hospital at Taizhou (Linhai) was closed in 1932 and sold to a Chinese doctor. The hospital at Ningbo was closed in 1934 as part of CMS retrenchment. There were now several other hospitals there. One in particular, run by American Baptists, received substantial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. With the increasing number of hospitals in the towns, it was more possible to extend Christian medical service in the villages and during the 1930s a number of village clinics were opened.

Self-support was growing. The CMS grant was being reduced by five per cent per annum until the arrival of hardships brought by the Sino-Japanese war. The diocese raised a substantial sum towards the endowment for a Chinese bishop. Part of this was lost through the failure of a Shanghai trust and the rest through inflation. In spite of the nominal authority of the synod, the Chinese clergy in this diocese did not have very much control prior to the war. Authority in practice was shared between the bishop and the secretary of the mission conference of the CMS. This mission conference was entirely foreign. After the war, the synod was not yet able to invite or refuse overseas staff. The Zhejiang Diocese used more unpaid lay workers than most other dioceses. The considerable success in the villages was ascribed to this. By 1940 there were 12,000 baptised in the diocese, twice over the number twenty years before. Bishop Curtis thought that the Five Year Movement had brought new life and vigour to the Church.

Hangzhou fell to the Japanese on Christmas in 1937 and much looting and raping followed. Christians of all sorts mingled with Buddhists and Taoists, and soon there were 17,000 women and girl refugees in Red Cross centres. Most of the diocese was eventually occupied; the Japanese engaged in heavy fighting in the area and several churches were destroyed. However, all seventeen parishes were able to continue to function with only slight interruption. The overseas staff, including several New Zealanders, were of course interned. The Chinese clergy were in their parishes all through the war. Some of them were "on the run" for months at a time, and some lost all their possessions. They showed great courage and patience, as did all the Church workers in general. The leper hospital outside Hangzhou continued through the war, receiving support from Japanese as well as Chinese organizations. The big Kuang Chi hospital was the one stable element in the city. It did quite a bit of relief work of all kinds, until it was taken over by the Japanese in 1942.

After the war, the various diocesan institutions gradually revived and were restored. Many of the former staff of Kuang Chi quickly rallied around and set to work before any foreigners could arrive. Trinity College at Ningbo and Shaoxing junior middle school resumed also. The Chinese clergy gradually recovered from the hardships of the war. Unfortunately, only a few of them were under fifty years of age and there seemed little prospect of replacements; none were university graduates. There were only three foreign clergy besides the bishop. After the establishment of the People's Republic, the Kuang Chi hospital had to be leased to the provincial authorities. Its superintendent, Dr. S.D. Sturton, stayed on as a professor in the Provincial Medical School.

Curtis resigned as bishop in 1950 and the diocesan synod elected Teng Shu-k'un (Kimber Den) as his successor. Teng was imprisoned in 1952 for some five years, apparently without any charge being brought. He was said later to be working as assistant bishop in the Anqing diocese. Ting Kuang-hsün was consecrated bishop of Zhejiang in 1955. Reports out of the diocese stated that membership of the ZSH was increasing at about the same rate as before 1949 with as many services as before. After 1951, no reliable news was to be had.

The Diocese of Guangxi-Hunan (Kwangsi-Hunan)

More than in most of the other dioceses, disturbance and calm alternated in the Guangxi-Hunan (Kwangsi-Hunan) diocese during this time period, with disturbance prevailing. Two women missionaries were captured by brigands in 1928; one, a nurse, was soon released. Bishop Holden, in trying to effect their release, was robbed and for a time was held captive by another band. Around 1930 there was at least nominal civil war between the Guomindang Central Government and the "Guangxi Clique". But, road building for motorised vehicles went ahead as elsewhere, though of course on a limited scale. The building in 1927 of a motor-road from Guilin to the Hunan border meant that the diocese was no longer without any wheeled vehicles.

Bishop Holden always laid great stress on self-government and self-support. After 1927, the diocesan synod made appointments of both Chinese and Western staff, and invited staff from England. When the synod was not in session these decisions were made by its standing committee. Its Board of Finance administered the annual grants from the CMS and the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. Only purely personal affairs of the foreign staff did not come under it. In 1931 elected delegates from the parishes for the first time outnumbered both missionaries and the full time paid clergy and Church workers.

Holden also started an endowment fund for a Chinese bishop. Enough had been raised for this before the war, and great progress was made. He persuaded the synod to start a general self-support fund with regular fixed assessments on the parishes. The CMS began to reduce its annual grant, as in other dioceses, by five per cent per annum. It was understood that as foreign staff fell out they would be replaced by Chinese. The House of Bishops asked Holden to move to the much more extensive diocese of West China in 1933. He was succeeded by P. Stevens, who had previously worked in this diocese, although for the last ten years he had been in England.

Evangelism was stimulated by the Five Year Movement initiated by the National Christian Council. Each congregation undertook a pledge to try to open new work in another village each year. But, in the autumn of 1934 a Communist advance from their base in Jiangxi Province forced the evacuation of the Church centre at Dao Xian. The dispensary and mission house there were looted.

The assessments on the parishes for the Self-Support Fund were never popular, perhaps because they were felt to be compulsory. For reasons of convenience, they were deducted from the Church worker's salary; he might in effect be paying it himself. Under Stevens, it was separated from this but the result was that it was not always paid in full. While this fund was never popular, money came easily for the diocesan Board of Missions, both for Shaanxi and for the board's own centre at T'aochu'an in South Hunan.

The diocese was very scattered and thinly held. For example, one Chinese priest who was lame had five congregations at considerable distances apart in addition to scattered Christians. The priest had as full time staff only one Biblewoman and two evangelists to help him. The area, slightly larger than the English county of Cornwall, had no motor-roads or railway; rivers and footpaths were the only highways. By 1938 the diocese had eleven clergy and seventy-four full time, paid Church workers, about half of whom were women. This was in addition to the small foreign staff. The number of baptised churchpeople was just over 2,000, about the same as in 1922 when the diocese included Xiangtan and Anyuan. Archdeacon Hsü Ki-song (Addison) was consecrated as the first Chinese assistant bishop of the diocese after his election by the diocesan synod. There was much joy over this. He was a graduate of Boone University and had long been the bishop's right-hand man. It was coming to be felt that with the increase in number of hospitals in the bigger towns, the Church should in the future devote its resources to dispensaries and rural clinics, rather than more highly equipped hospitals. Besides the hospital in Guilin under Dr. Charlotte Bacon, the Church had dispensaries at Dao Xian and Xingan.

The Guangxi-Hunan diocese suffered more than most in the Sino-Japanese war. It was the scene of much fighting, and eventually the whole of it was occupied. Most of its churches were either totally destroyed or badly damaged. Its centres lay along the natural lines of communication; most of the town of Guilin was destroyed, including two churches, a hospital, and mission residences. A piece of marble from the font of the destroyed Guilin church was sent to England to be built into the new Coventry cathedral. A stone from the

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old Coventry cathedral was sent to Guilin to be built into the new church there. The pro-cathedral in Lingling (Yungchow) was destroyed. Of the two dispensaries in country-towns, one was destroyed and the other badly damaged. Churchpeople, like others living in this area, had tragic losses and sufferings in the war. Most of the Chinese clergy stayed at their posts, and carried on courageously as best they could. Much relief work was done for the wounded and for the many refugees who passed through.

The Church lost some of its members through death in war. Others were lost by moving away or by dropping off, but the main body survived and was faithful. As Bishop Hsü said, "If we have got the living Church, it is easy to put up the building." Most of the destroyed churches and other needed buildings were rebuilt with generous local giving. This was supplemented by help from abroad, including the English Archbishops' China Fund. The Guangxi provincial government made a grant towards the reconstruction of the Guilin hospital, in appreciation of its past service. No grant was received from the Hunan government for the medical work at Taichow, since it was a dispensary and not a hospital. The endowment for a Chinese bishop was nearly all lost during the war. After the war efforts for financial self-support were reduplicated. These funds came through Christmas collections, gifts at the commemoration of ancestors and birthdays, and from gifts at baptisms and weddings. Collections at Easter and Harvest Thanksgiving went to the Diocesan Board of Missions, to be divided equally between Shaanxi and T'aochu'an.

In 1936, the diocese had ten Chinese and four foreign priests. This compared, in 1946, to seven Chinese priests and one deacon, two Western priests, and three deaconesses. One of the deaconesses, Edith Couche, was in charge of the training school for Biblewomen. After the war the church had many fewer catechists and primary school staff, a total of thirty full time staff compared with ninety before the war. It had ten parishes with more than forty branch-centres. Recruitment of clergy was increasingly difficult because of the difficulty of paying stipends on which they could live. The training of local lay leaders was made a top priority partly for this reason after the war. These lay leaders were to be unpaid and part time. Each parish was to have a local training class and the diocese a central training school, with short terms every year. The difficulty was to give them enough training to be a satisfactory and lasting basis in such a short period. A diocesan middle school was restarted in 1948. It was planned that its upper forms should have a strong agricultural bias. Night classes for illiterates were stressed, as was the reading-room concept where people could sit, read, and if interested, ask about the Christian faith. Also stressed was the use of clocks at church, so that an opportunity existed to give the time to the locals.

Bishop Stevens resigned in 1950 and was succeeded as diocesan bishop by Hsü Ki-song (Addison). Archdeacon Ch'en Ch'i-ch'ang, however, resigned. In the early and middle 1950s the diocese continued as best it could under great pressure, and with the small Western staff gone. Hsü Ki-song was denounced and imprisoned for a time but apparently no Churchpeople could be persuaded to bring accusations against him. He is said to have been possibly the only one of the Chinese bishops who, in seeking to preserve the Church, refused to denounce the former Western staff. The only other possibility was perhaps Shen Tzu-kao.

The Diocese of Yunnan and Guizhou (Yun-Kuei)

As we have seen, Yunnan and Guizhou were long in the diocese of Hong Kong and South China, in regards to the Anglican Church work. This affiliation was for the most part purely nominal because of lack of personnel and financial resources. In 1913, Bishop Lander and others came to investigate. The up-shot was that a temporary hospital was opened in 1915 in Kunming, under Dr. Gordon Thompson, largely upon Dr. Bradley's advice. Dr. R.F. Lankester joined this work before too long. Kunming was saved from ravaging and looting in 1922 when Thompson negotiated a cease-fire between contending armies. St. John's Church was opened, and an attempt was made to reach the more educated section of local society. A girls' primary school "Light of Grace" was started at the same time and by 1931, it had 400 pupils.

For a long time the Anglicans did little in Kunming except for the hospital and the girls' school, largely to avoid clashing with the Methodists and the China Inland Mission. Both of these groups had started earlier



Hsü Ki-song (Addison), elected bishop of Guangxi-Hunan diocese in 1950



Huang Kuei-yüan (Quentin), elected bishop of Yun-Kuei diocese in 1947

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in the region than the Anglicans. It was proposed in 1934 that the Methodists should be asked to take over the Anglican effort. They were strongly represented in Yunnan, and the region was remote from Hong Kong. The proposal, however, was not accepted. The construction of motor-roads in the early 1930s meant that journeys that previously had taken several days could now be accomplished in as many hours. A motor ambulance was provided in 1936 that enabled the church hospital in Kunming to start medical work as a travelling dispensary in accessible villages. The Kunming hospital was recognized by the government as a teaching hospital in 1940. A dental hospital was added to it in 1939. Dr. Yü, a doctor from Guangzhou, was long on the staff and much respected.

The Sino-Japanese War, with its resulting mass migration from the more advanced eastern provinces, brought in many ways a new age to Yunnan and western China. It brought to the west many Christians who strengthened and helped to extend the Church there. A centre with a primary school was started in Dali, in Yunnan, in 1940. Central China University, Wuchang was for seven years at Xizhou, near Dali. Church work was begun in Guiyang (Kueiyang) in 1938, and the next year a church opened, as did a kindergarten four years later. A centre called Wen Lin T'ang was started in Kunming in 1939 near the Union Christian University. The well-known Dr. T.C. Chao was in charge. Tsu Yu-yü was consecrated assistant bishop in the Hong Kong and South China diocese in 1940, to be in charge of Anglican work in Yunnan and Guizhou. James Fu started a centre at Anshun, and also a school for the blind.

The original St. John's Church in Kunming was destroyed in the war. Bishop Tsu was able early in 1947 to dedicate a new St. John's Church that was a memorial to members of all Allied Forces who had died in China in the war. The Anglicans were the only Church body to commemorate the non-Chinese armed forces there in the war. The new church was designed by a well known Chinese architect, Lin Hua, in the style of Chinese palace architecture adapted for church use.

The General Synod of 1947 agreed that Yunnan and Guizhou should be separated from Hong Kong and South China, and that they become a separate diocese. Tsu Yu-yü had resigned to take charge of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui Central Office, and Huang K'uei-yüan (Quentin), succeeding him, was elected as diocesan bishop. Clouds were threatening as the first synod of the new diocese met. The synod resolved that each Church worker should learn at least one technical ability, such as making soap or peanut butter, in order to support himself financially. After the Communist takeover, Huang K'uei-yüan (Quentin) was arrested and detained for some weeks on trumped-up charges of spying. Later, James Fu was believed to have been driven to suicide after denunciation and accusations by his own sons.

The Diocese of Shanghai

All Church institutions in Changzhou, such as schools and hospitals, had to close down during the disturbances of 1927. Most were able to reopen again after some months, but there were some exceptions. The Mahan middle school at Yangzhou, for example, could not restart; it had been used as a barracks and training school by the victorious Southern army, the Guomindang. The hospital at Changzhou could not restart again either; this was now rented to two former nurses of the mission hospital, who cared for such cases as they could handle. St. John's University and its middle school were able to continue even though they were not registered with the government. There was now a majority of Chinese on the Board of Directors, but Bishop Graves, in particular, felt that to comply with all the government regulations would compromise the Christian integrity of the institution and the only responsibility left to the Church would be to pay the bills. In 1930 an application to register that included a statement of the university's Christian purpose was rejected. St. John's graduates, including doctors, could therefore hold positions only in the Shanghai International Settlement, or in some Christian institutions. It did officially register in 1937.

Among the most memorable events during this time were the great celebrations at St. John's in 1929, commemorating the jubilee of its founding by the great Bishop Schereshevsky in 1879. Dr. Hu Shih, the well known leader of the Chinese Renaissance, spoke at it. Messages of greeting and good will were received from

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national figures such as Sōng Tzū-wen, the Finance Minister in the Guomindang government, the Foreign Minister Wang Chen-t'ing (C.T.); and Yen Huei-ch'ing, a former Premier and nephew of the Rev. Yen Yün-ching (Y.K.), who was the first headmaster of the middle school. Honorary degrees were given to alumni Sōng Tzū-wen (T.V.) and T'ang Tsong-mu, as well as to Wu Yi-fang, Yen Yang-ch'u (James), and Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel). The opening of the Su Ngo Pott Social Hall in memory of the first Mrs. Hawks Pott was the central point of the anniversary. The building had a decorated ridge-roof and painted frieze in the North China style. Dr. T.V. Sōng was able to obtain for St. John's a very valuable collection of Chinese books. He was also able to secure a large gift of money for a new building in which to keep the books, and to provide an endowment for its upkeep.

This diocese, particularly the province of Jiangsu, suffered much from the appalling floods of the Yangtze in the summer of 1931. The Church co-operated with others in much relief work for the refugees. Damage was also sustained in the fighting resulting from the Japanese intervention in the North on September 19, 1931. The International Settlement escaped damage, but in the city and surrounding it much damage was done. The Church, naturally, did not escape. The greatest amount of damage was sustained by Chiangwan, a town on the short railway between Shanghai and Wusong. On the site of St. Paul's Church--a new building in 1924--there was nothing but a huge hole surrounded by debris. The well known Industrial Home for Widows, begun by Wu Hong-ü, was badly damaged but still standing. Tai Xian and Kunshan also were damaged.

Shen Tzū-kao, who had been the priest-in-charge of the Church of the Triumphant Way in Hsiakuan, Nanjing, was elected by the General Synod and consecrated as the first bishop of the missionary district of Shaanxi in June 1934. He was a graduate of St. John's, ordained in 1917, and was also the son of a doctor trained at St. John's. J.W. Nichols was consecrated as assistant bishop of Shanghai on All Saint's day. Bishop Graves retired in 1937. He had come to China in 1881 on a fourmaster sailing-ship and worked ten years at Wuchang before being chosen as bishop of Shanghai in 1893. He was a man of strong convictions and personality, and was above all an administrator and disciplinarian. He was cautious and conservative, at least in his later years, and much less ready than some others to hand over responsibility to the Chinese. He was also reluctant to co-operate with other Christian communions. He had played a large part in the establishment of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui, and was for a period its presiding bishop. He died three years after his retirement. William P. Roberts was consecrated in his place in St. John's Cathedral at the start of the eight years of the Sino-Japanese War, with enemy aircraft booming overhead. Roberts proposed to the diocesan synod that Shen Tzū-kao should be elected as his assistant, but this did not receive the required two-thirds majority approval in the synod.

Several of the parishes in Shanghai were already self-supporting in the 1930s. Indeed, some felt that the great stress on parochial self-support had a limiting effect, so far as looking outward was concerned. A new and larger building was consecrated for Grace Church, the successor of Christ Church in the old city. St. Paul's--in the industrial Hungksu area where the CMS had one time worked-- had been built and supported by Churchpeople, many of whom came from Ningbo. St. Peter's in the Xinzha district commemorated twenty years in 1933, a period during which it had become self-financing. It gave CC \$20,000 to endow an extension of its work in a chapel in West Shanghai. All Saints, in the French Concession, became the fourth self-supporting parish in Shanghai in 1932-33, after raising a considerable sum for endowment.

St. Andrew's Hospital in Wuxi reopened in 1928 under pressure from both official and business circles. It was now the only diocesan hospital outside Shanghai. The return of Dr. Walter Pott to assist Dr. Lee strengthened the hospital. St. Andrew's was experimenting with women nurses and men orderlies, for both men's and women's departments. The Church in Wuxi was now stressing adult education, especially short-term schools for illiterates. These schools lasted two weeks, and might have been attended by as many as ninety country-women. Grace Church in Suzhou became financially self supporting in 1934. Jingjiang became the provincial capital in Jiangsu in 1929. The Church made considerable advance here.

The Guomindang made Nanjing the national capital as it had been several times before. It was more central than Beijing, more easily defensible, and freer from old traditions. It was now modernized with new roads and

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buildings, even more than other Chinese cities. The many government institutions, especially the big Central Hospital, had a large number of Christians on their staff. The water-gates were blocked in the terrible Yangtze flood of 1931, and this saved the city itself from much flooding. There were many refugee camps where Churchpeople served tirelessly. The Anglicans had been later than several other Christian communions in starting work in Nanjing, but had two flourishing centres. One was St. Paul's in the South City on the site of the first Church centre.¹¹ The other centre was Hsiakuan, eight miles to the north and outside the walls. In this port area was a day-school with 200 pupils that was totally self-supporting. The Central Theological School was at last going well here, with about twenty students from many of the dioceses of the *Zhonghua Shenggong Hui*; it drew from the dioceses that spoke the national language.

The Church under the leadership of Shen Tzū-kao and J.G. Magee was at the half-way mark of financial independence. A diocesan Central Clergy Fund was set up in conjunction with the financially independent parishes. This was for the stipends of Chinese clergy. The synod resolved in 1933 that every church should become self-supporting within twenty-five years. The American subsidy to the diocese was reduced by ten per cent in 1934. It was the plan to have a reduction of three per cent per annum in 1935-44; four per cent in 1945-54, and five percent in 1955-58. It was estimated that within twenty five years all subsidy from the mother Church could be given up.¹² Unfortunately, the Sino-Japanese war, followed by the civil war, prevented the implementation of this plan. The four parishes of Our Saviour, St. Peter's, All Saints, and St. Paul's, were still mainly independent financially in 1949. But the civil war prevented a diocesan plan. The endowment funds, mostly parochial, were nearly all wiped out by war-time and post-war inflation, and a big business failure in Shanghai.

The Church now maintained only three hospitals in this diocese. St. Luke's for men, St. Elizabeth's for women in Shanghai, and St. Andrew's in Wuxi. The nursing at St. Luke's was done by young male student nurses under the supervision of five foreign and seven Chinese graduate female nurses. Each of the three hospitals had a training school for nurses attached to it. The medical school at St. John's survived a financial crisis about 1929. In addition to the hospitals, several Church centres had dispensaries attached.

The eight years of the Sino-Japanese War did much damage, both in actual destruction or looting, and in dislocation. Seven churches were destroyed. The Central Theological School was thoroughly looted and the library lost. Great numbers of Churchpeople were among the vast migration from occupied China. Some strengthened the Church in the west, but contact was permanently lost with a considerable number. Few, if any, of the over fifty Church centres were actually closed. In cases where churches were destroyed, services and meetings continued in private houses. Some of the clergy were imprisoned for a time and most had to resort to part time teaching for financial reasons.

W.P. Roberts was no longer able to administer the diocese after the Pearl Harbor incident of December 8, 1941. Yü En-ssu (E.S.), rector of St. Peter's, was elected and consecrated to be assistant bishop, and all authority was turned over to him and the Standing Committee. He died in 1944. Francis Lister Hawks Pott retired in 1942 and died five years later in Shanghai. Hawks Pott had worked as a missionary in China for fifty-six years and for fifty-four years had been president of St. John's and its humbler predecessors. The value and importance of his work was recognized by two decorations received during his lifetime from the Chinese government. The minister of Education, Chu Chia-hua, also recommended to the government that posthumous honours should be conferred on him upon his death. He was succeeded as President of St. John's by Tu Yü-

¹¹The Guomintang commandeered this building in 1927. A Christmas service was to be allowed, provided the Guomintang emblems (portrait of Sun Yat-sen and their flag) remained over the altar. So, the priest-in-charge, S.C. Kuo, put up a temporary altar at the West end and turned the pews around. The service was thus held.

¹²Much the same was true of the two other dioceses of Anqing and Hankou, also helped by the American Church.

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ch'ing (Y.C.).

The two hospitals in Shanghai, St. John's University, and its middle school were able to continue under difficulties. The University had as its acting head Shen Ssu-liang (William Z.L.)(Sung), whose father had been the first Chinese Anglican bishop, Shen Tsai-sheng. After the war Bishop Roberts returned. Mao K'eh-tung (K.T.) was consecrated in 1946 as assistant bishop. He had been head of Suzhou Academy for a long while. Mao succeeded Roberts as diocesan bishop in 1950. The Church in this diocese gradually recovered during the years of civil war that followed the Sino-Japanese War. The mayor of Shanghai, Wu Kuo-cheng (K.C.) was an Anglican Churchman and member of St. Peter's. The Central Theological School, whose buildings in Nanjing had been much damaged, and which functioned for some years in Beijing during the war, now resumed temporarily at St. John's under Bishop Shen Tzū-kao as principal, with thirty-seven students.

A plan was initiated to merge St John's University with a college established by American Methodists at Suzhou and a college connected with the Presbyterians at Hangzhou. The proposed name for this merger was the East China Union University (Hua Tong Lien Ho Ta Hsioh). It began on the site of St. John's. Each of the constituent units was responsible for two departments. St. John's was the largest, and was responsible for Arts and Medicine. Suzhou was responsible for Law and Science, and Hangzhou for Engineering and Commerce. Discipline and religious activity were the responsibility of the respective denominations to prevent a woolly undenominationalism.

In 1946 the diocese had more than 10,000 communicants, including catechumens, despite considerable losses during the war. This was in contrast to the 700 baptised members in 1901. In 1937 there had been thirty-seven Chinese and ten American clergy. In 1946 there were thirty-six and five, respectively.

The Diocese of Anqing (Anking)

As in other dioceses, the troubles of 1927 caused substantial disruptions. Much damage was done to the big St. James Hospital in Anqing, and the boys' and girls' schools there were also damaged. It was quite a while before the buildings could be recovered for Church use. For some time Christian worship could be held only in Grace Chapel. The delay in reopening the hospital was particularly regrettable. A good deal of damage was also done to St. John's school at Jiujiang. The buildings at Wuhu, the largest town in the diocese, were recovered more easily. As early as 1929 a diocesan lay training conference could be held there. As in other dioceses, there was a good deal of doubt for a time as to the possibility of continuing Church schools. This seemed impossible unless they registered with the government, and of doubtful value if they did. Eventually most were able to continue. A literacy class for poor children at Anqing was maintained at Grace Chapel for two hours a day.

In Nanchang, Huang K'uei-yüan (Quentin) was attached to St. Matthew's Church as a student worker and did much to dispel anti-Christian feeling. He was at one time an athletic director in several schools there. The troubles naturally, in this diocese as elsewhere, hastened the handing over of responsibility in the Church to Chinese. There was considerable Church extension about 1931 in the famous porcelain centre of Jingdezhen. The local congregation had to raise at least a quarter of the cost of the new plant in this diocese. Teng Shu-k'un (Kimber Den) worked long in Anqing. He was the moving spirit behind both a leper colony and a school for the blind set up there. These were often regarded as Anglican institutions and the Church did lend a building, but the institutions were in fact supported entirely by the local well-wishers, many non-Christians.

Chin P'u-t'ing was the acting superintendent of the various primary schools. He had come to believe that the church should have closer contact with the rural population, and consequently took a one year practical course in agricultural and rural service at the University of Nanjing. He submitted to Bishop Huntington at this time a plan for a small experimental service with four phases: economic, educational (focusing on reform of harmful customs), health, and religious work. The first centre chosen was a place where there was a group of Christian farmers. The soil was poor, there was a bandit lair nearby, and it was comparatively difficult of

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access. So, it was moved to Haik'ouchou, on an island in the Yangtze, in the autumn of 1931. It was then only about five miles from St. James Hospital at Anqing. The centre was a small farm, where it was demonstrated that it paid to have good seed and to plough deeply. Hygienic but inexpensive buildings were erected. The hospital sent a health unit of a doctor, nurse, and hospital chaplain to the centre each week. Co-operative loan societies were set up with low rates of interest, to help the farmers rebuild houses destroyed in the great flood, and buy seed, farm implements, and labour animals. After some years, unfortunately, extremely high water broke a crucial dike, and did great damage; then the war came and put an end to an imaginative scheme. The Anqing diocese also cooperated with other Christian bodies in a somewhat similar reconstruction project at Lichuan in the Jiangxi Rural Service Union. The parish of Tsungyang maintained a co-operative granary and a farmer's loan co-operative.

No parish in this diocese was financially independent before the war, but there was a self-support scheme for the diocese as a whole. Each Church centre was assessed a certain amount, which was paid into a central fund that provided roughly one-tenth of the maintenance of the Chinese staff. The objective was to keep it on a diocesan rather than parochial basis. There was also a small endowment fund for a Chinese bishop, a good portion of this coming from America, in American dollars. The scheme, such as it was, survived the war and post-war inflation. It was sometimes felt that the clergy were so concerned with money-raising towards the goal of self-support that they had no time for young people under twenty-one years old.

Most of the older Church centres were occupied by the Japanese during the war, and the buildings taken over by them. Except in Anqing and Wuhu, the clergy were forced to leave, and went to unoccupied parts of the diocese. Kuei Ch'eng-fu (Graham) left Anqing for the west and then returned. He held services in homes until the Japanese allowed him to rent a small building, and to arrange it for worship. In Wuhu, services continued with Yen Ch'i-ch'in (Hunter) in charge at St. James. He was long the diocesan secretary. Wang Erh-pin (Irvine) was at St. Lioba's. Wang had given much time before the war to organizing credit co-operatives among farmers. Church worship continued in all centres except Jiujiang and Nanchang.

There was a large exodus from Nanchang. The priest-in-charge, Teng Shu-k'un (Kimber Den), moved to an unoccupied part of western Jiangxi Province. There he continued Church work, including the care of refugees. He took over what remained of the Lichuan rural reconstruction centre. In the last summer of the war he caught typhus from the refugees and nearly died. During his illness he had a vision that the church in Nanchang, where he had long worked, had survived. Under the circumstances this would have seemed incredible. Upon returning after the war, he found indeed that the church had not been touched. The books and even the offertory bags were in order. It was inferred that a Christian Japanese had probably been there.

The diocesan centre during the war was at Maolin, a small mountain town about seventy-five miles south of Wuhu. A Church middle school was set up here and a clinic provided much needed service. A new Church centre was opened during the war at Tunxi, a well known tea-growing centre in South Anhui. Another centre was opened at Gan Xian in south Jiangxi Province, which was occupied only for a short period by the Japanese.

Lloyd R. Craighill was consecrated bishop of Anqing in November, 1940, following the retirement of Bishop Huntington. At the same service Ch'en Chien-tsen (Robin) was consecrated as assistant bishop. The service in Wuhu was attended by Presiding Bishop Arnold Scott, Bishop Tsen of Henan, and Bishop Roberts of Shanghai.

After the war, the Anqing hospital was found to be very dilapidated, and to restore it proved very expensive. This hospital was almost unique among Christian hospitals in China because it received a monthly grant from the municipal government over a long period. Dr. H.B. Taylor had given his life to it from its beginning in 1906 and returned to it after the war. Dr. John Sun was now medical superintendent. The two middle schools of Anqing, St. Paul's for boys and P'ei Teh for girls, also resumed operation. Lu Sha-ch'üan, the priest-in-charge at Maolin, was shot and killed in 1947 as he tried to bring peace to his community. He had attempted to effect a cease-fire with the help of others when the town was attacked by Communist guerillas. He had been a faithful and devoted priest at Maolin for over twenty years and had done much for the many

refugees there during the war years.

This diocese suffered greatly in so far as numbers were concerned. The number of communicants in 1946 was barely 2,500, less than half of that for 1936. In the immediate years following, this loss was largely made good. Bishop Craighill resigned in 1950 and was succeeded as diocesan bishop by Ch'en Chien-tsen (Robin).

The Diocese of Hankou

From 1927 through the early 1930s, church property in Hubei Province (Hupeh) suffered considerable damage, and individual Churchpeople suffered not a little from Communist forces. At the close of service as acting president of Huazhong University in Gilman's absence, Wei Cho-min (Francis) was briefly imprisoned in Shanghai through Communist connivance, and barely escaped death. At Houkang, in the western part of Hubei Province, Deacon Wen Ing-ch'üen and his wife were severely beaten. There was much plundering at Shayang, but to the general relief no one was killed. For nearly four years, the country was so disturbed that the bishop could not visit even Shashi and Yichang.

Feng Nei-ts'en, priest-in-charge in a town west of Wuhan, was murdered on Easter Tuesday in 1930. He had refused to leave his flock during a surprise attack by a Communist army, feeling responsible for the Christians who had taken refuge on church property. He was condemned as one of the corrupt gentry without a hearing. A report from a reliable source said that the Communists, considering him a brave man, cut out his heart and ate it.¹³ At Changsha, Trinity Church and several foreign residences were much damaged, and Trinity girls' school was destroyed. The disturbances did at least show that the Chinese staff could carry on reasonably well in the absence of foreign colleagues, who had withdrawn on the orders of their consuls. As the situation became quieter, the western staff were invited to return.

Dr. Wei Cho-min spoke at this time to the National Council of the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A, and pointed out that in China missions and politics were inseparable. Christians could not stand aloof or be uncommitted when politics were the nation's main interest. He went on to say that the keynote of future American Church policy should be upbuilding rather than extension. Expansion should be left to the Chinese Church in the future. The Chinese Church should not be overloaded any more; help from abroad was needed and welcomed to strengthen what was already there. At that time, only a small number of Christian Chinese were capable of assuming leadership. The Church had failed half a generation ago to encourage the training of leaders. It was hardly fair to expect the Chinese Church, now in its infancy, to be self-supporting. The first step should be to take Chinese into the confidence of the mission financial authorities, and allow them to learn everything, including the financial difficulties.¹⁴

After the Communist troubles, Huazhong or Central China University (formerly Boone) reopened in 1929, led by Dr. Wei Cho-min as president. Dr. Wei came to win national and international regard as one of China's chief Christian educationalists and scholars.¹⁵ The university had a divinity school and a library school attached to it. It was only natural that its chief librarian, Shen Zü-yung, should be chosen as the delegate from China to the first International Library Conference held in Rome and Venice in June 1929. Shen was a strong Churchman. Miss Wood died in 1930 after thirty years in China working for the Boone Library. The Boone

¹³A small statue of Feng is in the screen behind the high altar in Washington Cathedral.

¹⁴ *Spirit of Missions*, 1928, pp. 141-4. Wei was one of the Chinese delegates and the only Anglican Chinese at the International Missionary Council Conference in Jerusalem in 1928.

¹⁵See footnote 9.

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middle school reopened as well at this time.

St. Michael's Church, in a very crowded area of Wuchang, now had a parish house as the headquarters of a Service Guild that functioned day and night. It maintained a system of small loans that put many a family on its feet after the damage done by a siege in the troubles of 1927-28. It also organised industrial work—its sewing-machines were a special boon—and a reading-room. The Guild carried on rural reconstruction work in some seven villages around the South Lake. A gift from a Churchman who loved bathing off Long Island in the U.S.A. allowed them to open a bath-house for ricksha men.

The Church in Changsha revived quickly after the troubles of 1927 when the Chinese clergy and Walworth Tyng were able to return there from Wuhan. It was much helped by the appointment of a strong Anglican, Timothy Hu, to the important position of Post Office Superintendent for the province of Hunan.

The Yangtze floods in 1931 had a devastating effect on much of the area of this diocese, especially Wuhan. The flooded area covered from above Hankou to below Nanjing. No previous flood had covered so large an area, or taken such a toll of human life. At Hankou the river rose to a height of fifty-three feet six inches. That was three feet higher than the previous highest recorded in 1870. Hankou became a modern Venice, and for several days no one could move about except in sampans. Some of the buildings in Wuchang were under twelve feet of water. The Church cooperated with the government and others in giving food, shelter, and medical care to the many victims of the flood. The National Government had invited Sir John Hope Simpson to direct flood relief now in China; he was well known for his flood work in India. He in turn appointed Ch'en Tsung-liang (Archie) as his executive secretary, because of Chen's reputation for a stand against corruption, and because of his high administrative competence.

The Church General Hospital in Wuchang (191 beds) had Dr. Samuel C.Y. Lowe (Le Fu-hua) as its superintendent in 1922. Its training school for nurses numbered fifty-three students three years later. The House of the Merciful Saviour was started in the early 1920s to relieve pressure on the hospital. This facility targeted the lame, halt, blind, and orphaned or neglected children. It had to close in the troubles in 1927, but was reopened some years later under the Sisters of St. Anne when this order returned to Wuchang after six years in Shashi.

St. Hilda's girls' school now had its first Chinese principal, Miss Dorothy Tso. Many girls' schools had been established by the government, but St. Hilda's still received many applications. Parents commonly said that St. Hilda's gave what government schools too often did not: care for character, better discipline, and a concern to produce honest workers.

The Chinese priest-in-charge of Changde regretted in 1933 that it had not been possible to reopen the Church's middle school. He feared that if it were not reopened the once-flourishing Church would die a natural death. He also wanted the Church to start a factory to enable unemployed Church members to make their own living. A free night school for illiterates was also maintained there. The mass education movement was being vigorously promoted by the Church. One of the clergy, Paul Shen, was a leader in this. He had studied at James Yen's mass education centre in Hopei and had adapted its methods. A printed notice was useless for illiterates, so an alternative way was created. At Hanyang the catechist with his helpers went from house to house to read the notice about the Church's night school. They received encouraging responses, especially from illiterate young married women, despite the opposition of the mothers-in-law with whom they lived.

The diocesan mission station continued in Enshi (Shihnan), a remote area in west Hubei Province. The staff here was very isolated; a visit involved travel over a long mountain road frequently beset by brigands. In addition to the priest-in-charge, the mission station included a Biblewoman, a school-teacher, and two catechists. In 1933, mail took six days to two weeks from Hankou, even if it were sent by air as far as Yichang, from which it was brought by foot on the back of the carrier. A rural experimental centre was maintained at Xingshan. The diocese also had an arrangement by which ricksha pullers could come to own their own rickshas instead of renting them at ruinous rates from wealthy owners.

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Bishop Roots resigned in 1937 after forty-one years of service in China. He had been chairman of the House of Bishops and also of the National Christian Council. He was a Broad Churchman, and had unusually close relations both with Protestant Christians and with Government officials. The synod elected A.A. Gilman to succeed him as diocesan bishop.

Nearly all the diocese was occupied by the Japanese during the war and many Churchpeople joined in the great migration to unoccupied China. Huazhong, or Central China University moved first to Guilin and then, when much of this was destroyed, to Hsichou, near Dali, in Yunnan. All the churches outside Wuhan had to close and most of the buildings were occupied by troops. Sometimes the Chinese clergy could remain, at other times they could not. In Wuhan, several churches remained open and carried on. St. Paul's Cathedral in Hankou, and a number of other churches, schools, and residences were totally destroyed in the war. Many others were badly damaged. Churches and schools in Wuchang were not as damaged as other towns. At Changde, church property was entirely destroyed.

Most of the parishes were able to resume normal life in 1946. The schools opened as soon as the occupying troops and government offices left and were quickly crowded with applicants for admission. Fears proved groundless that good traditions would be lost with the flood of new pupils after a long break. As one Boone student had put it, "the tradition in government schools is to play, so I played. But, I know that the tradition at Boone is to study, so I came to Boone prepared to study."

St. Paul, St. Peter, All Saints, and St. John the Baptist were important parishes in Hankou. On the Wuchang side of the river there were St. Andrew's in a poor mill district, Trinity in the centre of the city, St. Saviour's, Holy Nativity (primarily the Boone compound), and St. Michael's. St. Michael's was unusual in that the Eucharist was celebrated within a setting of Chinese (pentatonic) music written by Louise Hammond.

A project of the Church General Hospital was the Wuhan Medical Social Service, which ministered especially to the needy in the poorer districts of the three Wuhan cities. Country clinics served by Sister Isabel, a clinic for Moslems associated with Mrs. Pickens, and clinics at some of the churches and church schools were part of the project. Medical workers also visited some of the outstations, where there might be for example a great number of trachoma cases in various stages.

Burial customs became a church issue. Although Buddhist monks were cremated, the Chinese in general stressed earth burial. The Chinese clergy of Wuhan appointed a committee in the late 1940s to consider with other churches a plan for a crematorium, something very new at that time in China.

After the war, the diocese planned to achieve financial independence over six stages of five years each. The six stages were: (1) to pay verger and miscellaneous expenses; (2) to pay one-third of the priest's stipend; (3) to pay another third of priest's stipend; (4) to pay the last third of the priest's stipend; (5) to pay half of the catechists' stipends; and (6) to pay the second half of the catechists' stipends. Before the war, nearly all the parishes in Wuhan were practically self-supporting financially. However, the endowments that had been slowly built up were all lost in the war. A scheme for clergy pensions was now started, financed by deducting five per cent from stipends, with the diocese adding a matching amount. The diocese had fewer clergy after the war, for several had died, and not only the older ones. Not all centres could be reopened.

The diocese had among its clergy in this period a considerable number of able Chinese. These included Huang Chi-t'ing (S.C.) who gave much help to the revolutionary leaders in the early days of the Republic and even before.¹⁶ Harvey Huang was for a long time priest-in-charge of Hankou Cathedral, and also was principal of the St. Lois girls' school in Hankou. Hu Lan-t'ing was primarily a devoted Church and parish

¹⁶Schiffin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, 1968, p. 330. This seems to refer to him as helping the revolutionary leaders in Changsha about 1903 or 1904, without mentioning his name.

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priest. R.E. Wood served in this diocese over fifty years, initially up-river, then for many years at St. Michael's in Wuchang.

A leading lay member of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui, Dr. Richard Bien (Pien P'eng-nien) was acting head of Central China University during 1945-46 while Dr. Wei was in the U.S.A. In a time when many Churchmen had come from an unprivileged background, Dr. Bien was descended on both sides from provincial governors, and was related to the famous Li Hung-chang. His wife was a daughter of Dr. C.Y. Wang, a world authority in those days on antimony and tungsten, and a niece of Dr. Wang Chung-hsi, a former judge at the International Court at the Hague. A considerable number of secular figures in Hubei Province had been educated at Boone or Central China University. Some were Christians, others were not.

In 1949 there were nearly 7,000 church members in the Diocese of Hankou. This marked a great recovery from 1946, when the number returned was under 4,000. Still, it was not back to the figure for 1936 when the number had reached 8,000. A.A. Gilman resigned as bishop in 1948 and in his place the synod elected Tsang Hai-sung (Stephen), who had been priest in charge of Hankou Cathedral. Some years later Tsang was not only denounced but imprisoned. After a brief release he was arrested again and died in prison. Wei Cho-min (Francis) was denounced in 1957, then placed under house arrest or close supervision until his death. The buildings and some of the staff of Huazhong University were used for a government Normal College. Other church property was similarly used for government purposes.

The Diocese of West China

In 1929 Bishop Mowll arranged for the appointment of two assistant bishops for the West China diocese. Ku Ho-ling was appointed particularly to help with the part of the diocese in northeast Sichuan, which owed its origin to the Anglican section of the China Inland Mission. Ku was now about fifty years old. His parents had been Moslems, and it was property of theirs that Cassels had been first able to rent when he came to Langchung, the first Anglican centre in West China. As a young man Ku had become a faithful follower of Christ and a pillar of his church. His consecration was the first of a Chinese bishop in West China, and a great occasion for the Church.

L.H. Roots, Bishop of Hankou, came up for the consecration of Archdeacon Ku. He was the nearest bishop, with Hankou being the adjoining diocese down the river, and was also the Chairman of the House of Bishops. Accompanied by Bishop Norris from North China, Roots came by steamer up the Yangtze to Wanxian, then overland across country by sedan-chair to Langchung. The overland journey took nearly eleven days by way of Yingshan, and Nanbu.

Song Ch'eng-chih was appointed assistant bishop to help in west Sichuan where the Church's connection was with the CMS. Song had worked mainly among students in Chengdu and was highly regarded by them. Bishops Mowll, Roots, and Norris came on from Langchung by way of Deyang to Mianzhu for the consecration of Song Ch'eng-chih. The return journey to Hankou for the visiting bishops meant two days overland by sedan chair from Mianzhu to Mianyang, covering about forty miles. It took seven days from there by houseboat to Chongqing, then by river steamer down the Yangtze.

Bishop Mowll left to become Archbishop of Sydney in 1933 and John Holden was transferred from Guangxi-Hunan (Kwangsi-Hunan) to succeed him. Unlike his predecessor, Holden had extensive experience in China. He had come as a young man, worked twenty-six years in the Guangxi-Hunan diocese, and spoke fluent Chinese.

The middle 1930s were exceedingly difficult years for the Church in Sichuan. The Communist armies retreated through Sichuan to Shaanxi as they were driven out of Jiangxi. There was widespread lawlessness and banditry. Because church workers had no choice but to leave their centres, if only temporarily, it was impossible for financial self-support to advance very rapidly. During the 1930s, the CMS mission conference still had more authority than the diocesan synod but under Bishop Holden this gradually changed. He made

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considerable advances in transferring responsibility to the Chinese. The location and appointment of staff, both Chinese and foreign, were decided by the Standing Committee of the diocese, with the bishop presiding and all except two of the members Chinese. After the war, all appointments were made by the synod or its Standing Committee and they were responsible for inviting new staff.

The decision was made to divide the very widespread diocese of West China into two parts in 1936. Holden continued as bishop of the new diocese of West Sichuan but was forced to resign because of ill-health and returned to England in 1937. He was succeeded as diocesan bishop by Song Ch'eng-chih. Frank Houghton was elected as first bishop of the new diocese of East Sichuan. This corresponded with the area helped by the CIM, and more recently, the BCMS. Ku Ho-ling continued as assistant bishop until he retired in 1947. When Houghton resigned in 1940, K.G. Bevan succeeded him. During this period the Church had middle schools in Da Xian and Liangshan, and hospitals also in Liangshan and Langchung. There were celebrations in 1945 for the Golden Jubilee of the diocese of West China, and for the Diamond Jubilee of the start of the Anglican work in Sichuan.

The Anglicans were concerned to give what help they could to the West China Union University outside of Chengdu, which was interdenominational in character. They provided at different times several members of staff, including Dr. H.G. Anderson, who was attached to its college of medicine and dentistry. The Anglicans also provided a hostel for students there, as did many other Christian communions. One of this university's first graduates became the first Chinese deaconess in West China in the 1930s. This marked a considerable step forward for, prior to this, Chinese women Church workers had had a very restricted educational background.

The West Sichuan Anglicans shared in the new United Theological College at Chengdu from 1937 and provided a staff member for it. The educational work of the diocese on its own consisted of only some primary schools. In the late 1930s it concentrated on supplying well-trained Christian teachers to government schools, rather than maintaining middle schools itself. Apart from the Anglican share in medical work in Chengdu, the diocese had a hospital in Kienchu, and a training school for nurses was attached to it. A branch dispensary was maintained at Mianyang.

During the war years, the clergy, with only a few exceptions, could only be paid half of their normal stipends. They were encouraged to take secular work to support themselves and their families and many undertook teaching posts. The diocesan endowment fund was invested in land, and was kept intact through the war. After the war, each parish was encouraged to raise its own self-support endowment fund, ultimately to be under the control of the diocesan treasurers. Some church buildings were inevitably destroyed in the war. This slowed up, of course, the movement towards self-support. The reduction in grants and staff from the mother Church before the war had not noticeably stimulated local financial self-support, as it was hoped.

Bishop Song expressed a desire to retire more than once, but agreed to stay on if given an assistant bishop. H.A. Maxwell was elected and consecrated in 1943 to this purpose. Song retired in 1950. He had been a scholarly man and was happier in university circles more than travelling around and visiting country parishes. He in fact combined his episcopal duties with university teaching. The main Church centres with resident clergy were now Chengdu, Zhongjiang, Hsintu, Guang'an, Deyang, Mianyang, Mianzhu and Anxian. During these years, the diocese received some financial help from the Australian CMS, as well as from England. In 1948 there were nearly 1800 baptised Anglicans, with an additional 200 under definite instruction. This compared with just over 600 in 1910, and 1200 in 1924.

Following the example of Christians in India, a special annual "Week of Witness" was now coming to be kept. Farmers' Bible schools were held during the slack season of the farms. The meetings were held at a central farmstead, not at a church. Young Christian farmers brought one or two friends, then members went home for the night. Proceedings each morning started with football to encourage punctuality.

The Diocese of Henan (Honan)

The Church in Henan Province came through the troubles and anxieties of 1927 without too much loss. Indeed, in some respects the troubles acted as a stimulus, calling attention to the need for Chinese leadership. Wei I-hen had already been appointed archdeacon. In November 1928 the diocesan synod elected a Chinese priest as assistant bishop, Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel). Tsen was chosen as chairman of the National Christian Council in 1929. Bishop White was more and more absorbed in archaeological work, so more and more of the diocesan responsibility and leadership was left to Tsen. He was asked to give episcopal supervision to the mission in Shaanxi, also.¹⁷

White resigned in 1935 on account of his wife's health, and returned to Canada. The Canadian Church advised the Henan diocesan synod to entrust the election of White's successor to the House of Bishops of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui as allowed by canon, with the proviso that whether he should be Canadian or Chinese nationality, he should promise allegiance only to the metropolitan authority of the Church in China. Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) was eventually elected by the diocesan synod. He was the first Chinese to be a diocesan bishop apart from Shen Tzū-kao in the missionary diocese of Shaanxi. The diocese now had a diocesan synod, two Chinese priests, in addition to the Canadian staff, and about 900 communicants.

The schools continued under Chinese heads. The hospital was provided with a motor ambulance which, combined with the new roads passable for motors, enabled the Church to hold clinics at centres in a number of villages. The Church in Henan suffered greatly during the Sino-Japanese War. There were catastrophic floods in 1939 resulting from the breaking of the Yellow River dikes by the Chinese army, a deliberate action to resist the Japanese invasion. Hundreds of thousands were made homeless. Most of the Church centres were on the Longhai railway and therefore heavily bombed. Virtually every Church centre in the diocese was occupied, at least for a time, by the Japanese. The Canadian staff got away to work in Free China while the Chinese clergy stayed in their parishes. This had been the agreement ahead of time, as most of their people could not leave. Services continued throughout the war in almost every church, even when the fighting was very close.

Bishop Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) developed high blood pressure and could not itinerate much. B.Y. Tsen was appointed archdeacon of East Henan, and visited the parishes there in his place. G.A. Andrew was appointed archdeacon of West Henan, including Zhengzhou, and Luoyang, most of which was not occupied until almost the end of the war. In Kaifeng, the Cathedral was badly damaged, and the parish hall was destroyed by bombs. The church in Luoyang was bombed to the ground four times and rebuilt three times. Several smaller church buildings were demolished. The hospital at Kueiteh was able to continue its work uninterrupted through the war, the only Christian hospital in Henan able to do so.

The post-war years in many ways marked a new age. Until 1947 the work of the foreign staff was in effect settled by a missionary committee, whose "advice" to the bishop was really decisive. The missionary conference was now abolished, except for a missionary association for purely personal affairs of the foreign staff. The bishop now made all appointments, supervised by a council elected by the synod. The council would very likely not know, as the bishop did, the whole diocese, so responsibility remained with the bishop. All financial grants from Canada were now paid to the synod, not to the missionary conference. Bishop White returned briefly from Canada to help while Bishop Tsen recuperated in Canada but he was unprepared for the changes he found in China, and could not adapt to them. He soon returned to Canada. Most of the diocese's endowments had been built up in land so they were preserved throughout the war and subsequent period of inflation. A small endowment for pensions was lost, however.

Ts'eng Yu-shan (Francis) was elected and consecrated in 1942 to help Bishop Tsen (Lindel), but also

¹⁷Tsen was present at the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops in 1930. He was the first Chinese to be a member of it.

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continued as dean of Kaifeng Cathedral until his retirement in 1949. After the war there were many fewer full time paid Church workers than before. There were still some catechists, three Canadian and eleven Chinese clergy to serve nineteen parishes and forty-two rural centres.

After 1951 very little is known of the Church in Henan Province. What the pressures were cannot be estimated. The Christian Weekly *Tian Feng* in Shanghai published a long article by Bishop Ts'eng Yu-shan (Francis) in January 1952. It denounced Bishop White as an agent of Western imperialism, ruling the Church with an iron hand, being friendly with Guomindang leaders, and so on. It also charged that he stole treasures from China. These in fact were bought at current prices, and had it not been done, they might have been lost for ever. At the time of this article Bishop White, of course, was no longer in China.

Later in the same year Tsen (Cheng) Chien-yeh was consecrated as suffragan bishop. He was the son of Bishop Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel), and had for some time been diocesan secretary in Kaifeng. He was for a time secretary of the ZSH Central Office in Shanghai. Tung Lin-ku, one of the Henan clergy, was accused in December 1951 and imprisoned because of outspoken opposition to the denunciation campaign. Tsen Chien-yeh and Wang Shen-yin, Bishop of Shandong Province, were said to have taken an active part in the accusation of Tung. Four men are said to have been ordained in Kaifeng in 1952. Bishop Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel) died in 1954 after years of failing health.

The Diocese of Shandong (Shantung)

This period in Shandong Province was a time of disturbance and strife, perhaps more so than in other parts of China. The Church could and did give much service to those who suffered, but no steady and peaceful advance was to be expected, nor was much settled planning possible. John Kao was one of the first two men priested in the Shandong diocese. He was also the first Chinese in this diocese to be in charge of a parish (Xintai). He had many sorrows in his family, but remained faithful in his service. His death in 1930 was much mourned. Henry Matthews retired in 1932, worn out after thirty-eight years' service in the Church in China. He had done much in the early years of the Church, particularly in Pingyin and Yanzhou (Tseyang).

Friends in England gave Bishop Scott a car, which he found a help on his visitations on the hard earth tracks. Hardly any roads had ever been made then in Shandong, other than by the tramp of many feet and mule-carts. Even with a car, Scott's speed could not have averaged over ten miles per hour, excluding stops. Sometimes he became stuck in a river-bed, and never went without a spade and two stout planks. Yet, he could make a journey in one day which formerly took two or three days. The car caused great excitement in any village it entered.

In the existing Church centres and parishes, the Church's work went forward, and some new centres opened. In contrast with the more usual experience in China, there were many suitable, if not highly educated, candidates for the ministry; but the Church could not finance as many as it would have wished. Training classes were maintained for Biblewomen and catechists at Pingyin and elsewhere.

Shandong Province was under Japanese occupation from the autumn of 1937. The military in Shandong instigated an anti-British agitation, even though Japan was not at war with Britain or the U.S.A. until December, 1941. The British had to withdraw from some centres for a while, and the hospital at Yanzhou had to close. Elsewhere, the Chinese staff held on. The cathedral at Tai'an was closed for seven months. During this time period, two priests at Xintai were attacked by bandits, bound, threatened with torture, and robbed in their homes.

Bishop Scott was transferred to North China in 1940, and was succeeded by J. Wellington. The English staff were soon able to return to Tai'an, Pingyin, and Yanzhou. After December 1941 when the foreign staff were all interned by the Japanese as enemy aliens, the Chinese staff carried on. Worship continued in centres,

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including daily services in the pro-cathedral.

The staff were inevitably weakened physically by the end of the war. Tired and dispirited, they had to earn a living in secular work, as well as to continue their responsibilities as best they could in Church service. They had long been unable to meet. The damage to buildings was less during the Sino-Japanese War than during the civil war that followed it. In 1946-47, Tai'an changed hands several times, and the cathedral was progressively destroyed. The last stage was the blowing-up of the remains by Nationalist troops to prevent the Communists from using it as an observation post. The English staff gradually were able to return, and were warmly welcomed. A woman missionary resumed medical work at Pingyin, and also began a "Christian Family", a small Christian commune. This work was modeled after the big independent Christian Chinese Family Movement whose centre was not far away. Most of Shandong Province fell to the Communists in the autumn of 1948. Initially they allowed the Church to continue.

The last Western bishops in China resigned in 1950. Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy), then Bishop of North China, was also given jurisdiction over Shandong. In 1955, Wang Shen-yin from Henan was consecrated Bishop of Shandong. He was said to be very progressive, and to have taken an active part in the Communist denunciation and trial of the Anglican priest, Tung Lin-ku, in Kaifeng in 1951. He was one of an official party of Chinese Y.M.C.A. leaders who visited India in 1956.

The Diocese of North China

Peking (Beijing) was now no longer the capital; indeed, its name was changed, since Peking means "Northern Capital". It became Peiping, but it remained the supreme centre of Chinese culture and education. The Anglicans continued to make advances, which, if not sensational, were towards the goal of a self-governing and self-supporting Church. It was reported in 1935 that contributions towards financial independence had increased by twenty-five per cent in the last five years.

Increasingly, Church hospitals in towns also maintained dispensaries in outposts where no other medical help was available. St. Andrew's Hospital, Hejian, for example, had five such dispensaries under the supervision of trained male nurses. Mary Ball, the devoted English nurse from the Datong (Tat'ung) hospital, was known to make her medical tour on a camel led on a chain by its owner. The Church had long dreamed of expanding from Datong into Mongolia, north of the Great Wall. An attempt was made to realise this in 1927, and afterwards, but the conditions were so unsettled that the gallant attempt came to nothing and it had to be given up in 1933.

North China was very speedily overrun and occupied by the Japanese in the summer of 1937. The Church's work in Beijing and Tianjin was mostly able to continue. The English staff was able to function until December 1941, and Chinese clergy were able to keep services going in two country parishes, Yungching and Anguo. Otherwise, country Christians were left without sacraments, without their parish leaders, and without any opportunity of communication with diocesan leaders. The Japanese military commandeered part of the Datong hospital for their wounded in 1937, but the Church staff were able to continue to care for Chinese wounded on the third floor. The Japanese left the next year, but again in 1939 they took the whole hospital over, giving a payment for it that was quite inadequate. Even so, Mary Ball was able to continue caring for a few Chinese patients until 1941.

There were areas where the Japanese writ did not run, and where anti-Christian Communist guerrillas were active. A Chinese priest, Chang Mu-ch'uan, and a deacon, Li Hua-lung, from Anping near Anguo were seized by the guerrillas while on their rounds giving Communion to groups of Churchpeople in the villages. They were shot and their bodies thrown into the river. After the Chinese doctor at the Anguo St. Barnabas Hospital was taken prisoner by the guerrillas, the hospital remained open. Two English nurses stayed on and kept the out-patients' clinic open. When the Chinese nurses were interned, one of them, Kao Wei-lan, continued to maintain a clinic in the hospital premises. When the Communists arrived after the war, the clinic was

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maintained elsewhere in the town. Before the end of the war, there was great destruction. The Anguo hospital was twice looted, the hospital at Hokien was looted and partly destroyed, and the Yungching hospital was pulled down. All the materials were carried away. The Church hospitals in small towns suffered much damage. They all had to close down and extensive repairs were needed if they were to reopen as hoped. The hospital at Datong was recovered on payment to the local government of the money received for it under the Japanese occupation. A Dr. Li (from Yungching) and Mary Ball reopened it. Training of nurses was resumed, and an English priest renewed services and general Church work.

Bishop Norris resigned in 1940 after twenty-six years as bishop, and fifty-one years' service of the Church in China. Unlike most Allied nationals he was not interned but was given special quarters in Shanghai with other semi-invalids. He died there shortly before the end of the war and his funeral was attended by a great concourse of Christian Chinese. T.A. Scott was transferred from Shandong Province to succeed Norris.

Services in the cathedral continued through the war without a break under the leadership of Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy), from 1941 on. A small group of aged British and Americans were interned on the British Embassy compound where they held services in the Embassy Chapel, led by Dr. Aspland until his death in 1949. Lin was occasionally allowed in to give them Communion. Church property survived the war undamaged in Beijing, largely due to the fact that it had been registered with the authorities in 1942 as the property of the North China diocese of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui. The Japanese took over the Church schools, but these of course reverted to the Church at the end of the war. Timothy Lin at once reopened Ch'ung Teh boys' school, and Joan Ch'ang the Tu Chih (St. Faith's) girls' school. The schools in the country could not be opened for some time.

The Communist forces took over the main centres at the end of 1947 and early 1948. This did not at first have any dramatic effects on the Church and its work, except for restrictions on movement. Bishop Scott was able to visit the church in Yungching in November 1949, the first time in sixteen months he had been allowed out of the city. The Chinese priest-in-charge there had been twice imprisoned by the Communists, and could not visit the outposts. Jesse Colbeck, noted for his creating a communicants' guild for young men, died after some thirty-five years' work, mostly in Yungching. His young men did much to spread the faith in surrounding villages.

Bishop Scott resigned in 1950. Timothy Lin succeeded him and was also given jurisdiction over the Shandong Province diocese. Churchpeople were instructed in home industries in preparation for a possible embargo on Western help. These industries, which they hoped would help maintain the Church, included making soap, bean curd milk, stockings, and shoe soles. No communication in the West was received from Bishop Lin after 1951. He was apparently denounced and perhaps imprisoned, but a good deal later rehabilitated. Some years later the nave of the cathedral had to be leased to the government and reportedly was used as a factory, with the choir and sanctuary walled off. Christian worship could continue there, and the space was more than enough for the very small number who could still come.

The Diocese of Shaanxi (Shensi)

The situation in the diocesan city of Xi'an was somewhat more settled after 1928. Previously, its remoteness, problems of famine and civil disturbance, and frequent changes in staff had caused many difficulties. Providentially, Yang Ch'i-tzu (Leighton), an experienced priest of the diocese of Hankou, now offered to go to Xi'an for a period of five years. He had been priest-in-charge of Shashi, and had to leave behind his children, and his wife who cared for his aged parents. A few years later the railway was to reach Xi'an, but at this time the journey took ten days, much of it by cart or donkey.

There was another bad famine in 1929, leading to an estimated two and a half million deaths in Shaanxi. Much of the Church's work was in famine relief, in cooperation with other Christian bodies and government authorities. The situation in 1930 was less tragic. The school enrolment increased to two hundred. An

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evangelistic group toured five country outposts for four weeks, piling their quilts for bedding and other luggage on one wheelbarrow and walking alongside. They proclaimed the faith in as many as forty villages. The Church in Xi'an sent a generous contribution in 1931 for flood relief in Central China. Yang held a week's retreat for the staff to commemorate the nineteen hundredth anniversary of Pentecost, while the farmers were busy with harvest.

Until now, Bishop Norris of North China had exercised episcopal oversight over Shaanxi but from this point on oversight was to be the responsibility of Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel), assistant bishop of Henan. Ch'en Tsung-liang (Archie) instigated a visitation by leading laymen and a priest from other dioceses, with Bishop Tsen in 1932. Ch'en had felt that the other dioceses of the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui were losing interest in their Xi'an mission, partly owing to the great stress on financial independence.

The 1932 visitation gave great encouragement. Ch'en was able to tell the General Synod in 1934 that the needed endowment for a bishop in Xi'an had been oversubscribed. The synod then unanimously elected as bishop Shen Tzū-kaio (T.K.), who had long been priest-in-charge of the Church of the Triumphant Way in Nanjing, making him the first Chinese Anglican bishop to have charge of a diocese. Shen was consecrated at All Saints Church, Shanghai, with the sermon preached by Huang Chi-t'ing (S.C.). S.C. Huang had been the first general secretary of the Board of Missions sixteen years before. (He was also Archie Ch'en's uncle.) By 1934, the Church in Shaanxi had 162 communicant members, a further 349 baptised, and 265 catechumens preparing for baptism.

It was the usual case that the mission in Shaanxi received and wanted no help from the Church outside China. However, the celebration of the York Minster in 1935, and its subsequent Thank-Offering was an exception. The York Minster celebrated the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the coming of Christianity to York and this was the same year that the first Nestorian Christians had come to China, settling in Xi'an. Part of the York offering was given to the Church in Shaanxi, and it was gratefully accepted. This, along with some other small gifts, provided for the building of a small church, the first Anglican consecrated church building in Shaanxi. A Nestorian cross was erected over the gateway.

The Church in Xi'an, though always remaining small, advanced by leaps and bounds after the coming of Bishop Shen. The Church of the Holy Spirit (Ching Peng T'ang) was rebuilt after the war with funds raised locally by the parish. The parish was self-supporting, supplying the priest's stipend as well as running expenses. The Anglican compound was in the middle of the city, and twenty-three bombs fell on it during the war. No one was hurt, but the church, a large part of the school, and part of the Bishop's house, were destroyed. After the war the Church compound included a newly organised Holy Way middle school, with four hundred and fifty boys and girls. The pupils included the daughter of the provincial governor, and also children of the president of the North-West National University.

The Church now had four centres with resident Church workers outside of Xi'an, all within about thirty miles of the city. The chief of these four centres was Xianyang, due west of Xi'an on the Lunghai railway. This place had been the imperial capital of the great Ch'in Shih Huangti, who built the Great Wall twenty-two centuries ago. In the post-war days it was becoming an important communications centre. Yang Ch'i-tzu (Leighton) had started a Church centre here in the early 1930s.

Ch'en Te-heng, the priest at Xianyang, was something of an individualist. He developed a unique system for instructing rural folks, compiling lessons of Church teaching in free verse, and setting them to folksong tunes that everyone knew. He could keep groups of adults and youngsters at such lessons for hours at a stretch, since they loved to sing. The songs were said to be reminiscent of African American spirituals, with simple repetitions and plaintive airs. West of Xianyang, the Church had centres at Wugong and Baoji. Forty miles south-east of Xi'an at We-Chia-Tsai, Bishop Shen and others cooperated in a model rural reconstruction centre.

Bishop Shen was appointed head of the Central Theological School after the war and for a time the Church

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in Shaanxi suffered from a lack of leadership. In 1947 the General Synod chose as Shen's successor Liu Yao-ch'ang (Newton), a graduate of Boone and a priest in the Hankou diocese.



The consecration of Liu Yao-ch'ang (Newton) as bishop of Shaanxi diocese (1947)
Francis Gray is seated third from the left. Seated to his left are Claude Pickens, Walworth Tyng, A.A. Gilman, Liu Yao-ch'ang, Tsen Ho-p'u, Tsu Yu-yü, Lloyd Craighill, and R.E. Wood.

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To the best of the present writer's knowledge, the Zhonghua Shenggong Hui--the Anglican Church in China--ceased in the late 1950s to function as a self-governing and independent body of Christians. No doubt some traces remained. Some members were absorbed into local undenominational groups of Christian believers, or into the undenominational Three-Self Movement. Perhaps other Anglicans survived as individual believers without any organisational ties. Still others, moved by the spirit of the new age, may have abandoned faith in any reality beyond the visible universe.

As we look back, what are we to think of the effort as a whole? The original objective had been pretty well reached by 1949. This objective was the establishment of a body of Chinese Christian believers, under Chinese leadership, on Anglican principles, in fellowship with like-minded Christians throughout the world. It might be held that this objective should have been reached more quickly. But, as long as financial help was needed and desired from the older and stronger Churches of Europe and North America, the influence of the latter was inevitable.

Dr. David Z.T. Yui, an Anglican and chairman of the National Christian Council, declared in 1929 that it was the enemies of Christ and the Christian Movement who spread the impression that Christian missionaries were no longer wanted by Chinese Christians. But, at least in Anglican circles, there was a general consensus by 1949 that the day of the Western missionary was over, perhaps with the exception of a few specialists. Chinese Anglican leaders were held in high regard as both able and devoted.

The difficult political setting of the Anglican mission, indeed of all Christian activity in China, can hardly be forgotten. But there were real difficulties and problems that did not augur for an easy and untroubled future for the Church, regardless of its political setting. The concern of the modern state for the education and health of the population was once the concern only of the Church, in most if not all countries. The consequent taking over of Church institutions, and perhaps the monopoly of the concern had its effect in the West, but much more of an effect in Asia and Africa, where the Church was less deeply rooted.

Two matters were of serious concern. One was the high average age of the clergy and full time staff. The other was the increasing difficulty--and it had never been easy--of recruiting people with satisfactory educational background for ordination. Not all existing clergy were educated enough for service of the Church in the world after the Sino-Japanese war, although they were mostly genuinely devoted men. Full time service for the Church meant an even greater financial sacrifice for the well educated in China than it has meant elsewhere, a difficulty accentuated by the great stress rightly laid on the financial self-support of the Chinese Church. In the earliest days, no financial giving was asked from those inquiring about the Christian faith, for it would have seemed that the missionaries were engaged in a money-making enterprise. It was, however, made clear very early on that giving is part of a Christian life, even for the poor. The Churchpeople were a cross section of Chinese society, and most were not materially well-off, particularly in North China. The small numbers of Churchpeople did not make the task of support easy because they were thinly scattered. Whereas the Church of England depends to a considerable (albeit decreasing extent) on the giving of past generations of Churchpeople, this historical foundation was lacking in China.

Prior to his arrival in Canterbury, St. Augustine had been advised not to abolish harmless customs in England, nor to destroy pagan temples that could be converted to Christian use. Thus, the question of how much needed to be changed, what could be kept or supplemented by the Christian mission in China, was from the earliest days much in the minds of Anglican missionaries. There was always much honest difference of opinion on the subject, but differences were rarely along national lines.¹⁸ To be as Chinese as possible was generally felt to be very desirable, but not to be the sole and overriding value. Almost from the start, the missions aimed at the building up of a self-governing Chinese Church. While the early CMS missionaries

¹⁸Bishop Lindel Tsen in 1941 told the writer that the idea of an indigenous Church was overstressed--the real desire was for more indigenous control.

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concentrated above all on the wide diffusion of the faith as the first step, other Anglicans from the start set up schools, hoping to produce Christian Chinese who could disseminate the Faith, and who quickly would become leaders of the Chinese Church.

From the beginning, Chinese assistants were recognised by all to be indispensable. The Chinese, in fact, had a much larger part in the mission than was usually recognised in the West. It is natural to question whether they were given due and proper scope and trust. This writer questioned Chinese leaders about this in the late 1940s, and received divided opinions on the subject. Such men as Yen Yün-ching (Y.K.) and H.N. Wu were far too independent to be anyone's running dog. In general, it was probably true that responsibility was not shared and control handed over as soon as might have been desirable. However, each concrete situation had its own problems, both of personalities and of principles. For instance, the election of one Chinese as diocesan bishop might cause the withdrawal from Church service of another leading priest. Perhaps the Western Church was overprotective in wanting to avoid such difficulties; it is a truism that good parents are especially prone to smother-love.

A presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. testified on a visit to China in the early 1930s that even leaders of the Church in the West were not conscious of the maturity of the Church in China. A proper humility was not always present. The East values humility perhaps more highly than the West, although it cannot be said to be a striking characteristic of the committed Communist; it is difficult to combine humility with deep concern for some great cause.

Some missionaries were insensitive to Chinese viewpoints and desires. Still more insensitive were their supporters in the West. Probably none of them had the entire gamut of virtues and gifts which were to be desired in a task of almost incredible difficulty. One is often reminded of the well-known sayings of Elizabeth Wordsworth¹⁹ and Yeats.²⁰ An insufficient number of Churchpeople in the West were awake to the call to mission and willing, if chosen, to serve overseas. Bishop Boone and others continually appealed for "picked men"--those especially chosen for a particularly demanding task. In some ways they chose themselves, by being willing to go. And, it was far from easy to tell in Europe or America who would in practice fit in and be most helpful. The idea of training in China itself was more than once tried, but found to be unsatisfactory.

Much of the opposition to Christianity was due simply to the fact that it was not Chinese. In some respects, belief in Christianity inevitably involved changes in traditional belief and practice, such as modification of veneration of ancestors and a concern for the under-privileged, and for women and girls, which was new. Chinese life was founded on what were known as the Five Relationships: prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, friend and friend. Christian views of democracy and freedom were bound in such a situation to seem to imply utter anarchy and even depravity. They could also be misunderstood, as when it was said that Jesus not recognising his mother was worse than dogs and sheep. The tradition of Christ's virgin birth, besides being jeered at the streets as incredible, could be taken as a repudiation of a father's role.

Some Chinese Christians, in their enthusiasm for modernisation, may have gone too far in accepting modern or Western customs, and seemed indifferent to Chinese culture. It was felt by some that first generation Christians who had in youth absorbed Chinese culture were better than later ones, who might have had little, if any of it. However, generalisation is impossible, and some of the best of the Chinese bishops were third generation Christians--fourth and fifth generation Christians virtually had not yet come. But it was not easy to strike a proper balance. If in mission educational institutions much stress was laid on English and the use of English textbooks, it should be remembered that originally many missions were unwilling to teach English.

¹⁹"If all the good people were clever and all clever people were good, The world would be better than ever We thought that it possibly could. But somehow, it's seldom or never the two hit it off as they should..."

²⁰"The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

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It was done largely in response to a demand for it. In most modern subjects, above all the sciences, Chinese textbooks were for long just not available. Some Anglicans did much to assist the early awakening of national consciousness and revolutionary feeling.

Worship-like reverence to ancestral tablets had to be given up, but ancestors were commemorated at All Saints' and All Souls' time, and perhaps at Easter. In one leading Shanghai church, memorials with pictures of former members of the congregation were put up in the clerestory of the sanctuary. Where family names were recorded, names of daughters as well as sons were recorded, unlike the old custom. By the later 1940s, veneration of ancestors had been abandoned by almost all Chinese except the most conservative.²¹

Assimilation of traditions could also be seen in the architecture of the churches. Since temple buildings were not built for congregational worship, churches could not follow closely their style. But more and more church buildings were erected with a traditional Chinese external appearance with roof eaves curving up and so on. Buildings in more Western appearance were sometimes put up, for practical reasons of economy, or because it was thought not yet clear just what form a church building in Chinese style should take. The Anglican St. Luke's Studio in Nanjing under Shen Tzū-kaō (like the Roman Catholic Fu Ren University in Beijing) encouraged the representation of Bible scenes in Chinese style, and the development of Chinese Christian art.

In regard to Christian doctrine, the desire to approximate this to Confucian or Buddhist teaching was perhaps at its peak in the 1920s. This was followed by a period when such thinkers as Chao Tzū-ch'en and Wu Lei-ch'uan were more doubtful about such an approach. In general, for most of the period of the Anglican mission, the non-Christian religions were somewhat moribund, apart from the agnostic strain in Confucianism. They had too little appeal to those with any education to be a serious obstacle to the spread of the Christian faith.

As we search the record to discover the reasons for what may be considered the failure of the Anglican mission in China, we have to be aware of possible weaknesses and failings in the attempt itself. Certainly not all mission staff were as aware as they should have been of the greatness of Chinese culture behind a strange facade. Not lacking was a paternal and maternal attitude too long maintained. Long after it was necessary or prudent, decisions were still made in London or New York, not China. Until the 1920s young and inexperienced missionaries might be put in charge of older and more experienced Chinese workers even when this was not inevitable. Some missionaries--dare one say, relatively few Anglicans?--presented a form of Christianity which was indeed too individualistic, and too unworldly in a wrong sense. Some laid an unbalanced stress on the depravity of human nature. This was directly contrary to the orthodox Confucian teaching of the essential goodness of human nature. At the least, most were probably too impatient for quick growth.

It has been argued by some people that the missions overly stressed high standards in education and medical work. The argument is that it would have been better to be more extensive. Rather than concentrating on the so-called élite in universities, it might have been better to stress elementary education for a larger number. Rather than training a few doctors to a high standard in expensive hospitals benefiting only a few, it might have been better to train great numbers of health workers to a less demanding standard. It is generally acknowledged that the first training of modern technical staff in China was the work of Christian missions.²² People who

²¹A Chinese bishop said in 1948 that in rural areas ancestor worship was still a major obstacle to Christian advance. Another one told the writer then that the Church could not allow ancestral tablets to be kept. There was no point in them except for worship, and for most Chinese they were more than a memorial. The putting up of photographs was quite different and unobjectionable.

²²*Cambridge History of China*, Vol 10 (1978), p. 575.

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support the argument above may see a superficial attractiveness in this. The issue was indeed one which was continually discussed. But it would certainly have appeared that Western missions were denying to Chinese privileges which their own countrymen enjoyed.²³

Modern Chinese doctors in 1920, led by Dr. Wu Lien-teh, petitioned the government that it would be better to have a few practitioners with high ideals than a number of inadequately trained men and women. Above all, Chinese Christian leaders strongly favoured the maintenance of modern higher education and modern hospitals. It would hardly have been possible to ignore their views even if this had on other grounds seemed desirable. When grants were made from the returned Boxer indemnity, Chinese members of the Committee insisted that they should only be made to institutions regarded as top-grade.²⁴

More than one Chinese bishop in the late 1940s told the writer that it was a pity that the English Anglicans had not done more in the way of higher education, and concentrated more on training Chinese staff. Most of the bishops were to a greater or lesser degree products of St. John's University, Shanghai, or the Central China (Boone) University, Wuchang. The bishops were well-regarded by Christians of all communions.

In most general ways, the Anglicans and other missions made tremendous contributions in pioneering the way for girls' schools, and also in concern for education for the whole population, rather than only a fortunate minority. This last was done by night schools, by early experiments at romanisation of the difficult Chinese written characters, and the Thousand Character movement. On an informal basis, literacy classes were sometimes held for children whose parents were too poor to pay fees for ordinary schools; there were a few where no charge was made. Missions devised scripts for some of the national minorities who previously had no written language.

Modern medicine, medical, and nursing care, were mainly introduced to China by Chinese and Western Churchpeople. This was welcomed both under ordinary circumstances, and in times of famine and plague, when more than one mission doctor caught typhoid in caring for refugees and died. As late as 1931, some ninety per cent of trained nurses in China were Christians.²⁵ Physical education in schools also was something new and beneficial.²⁶ It is relevant to mention that in the 1930s an Anglican trend can be evidenced in the development of branch dispensaries and public health work in small places, rather than in enlarging existing hospitals. This was at the same time that the government, for almost the first time, was establishing hospitals in many towns. As late as the 1940s, half the hospital beds in China were to be found in Christian institutions.

The Anglican mission had its weaknesses, quite clearly. We have to remember the limited resources which

²³As it was, there were complaints that missions kept Chinese Christians at a low level of intellectual development.

²⁴For example, Dr. Han Lih-wu, an active churchman and Director of the Board of Trustees, Sino-British Endowment Fund, 1931-1946, Educational and Cultural areas, stated as much to the writer in conversation May 30, 1937. He explained that the big Kuang Chi hospital in Hangzhou could not be given a grant.

²⁵See for instance, *Rethinking Missions, A Laymen's Inquiry After a Hundred Years*, 1932, W.E. Hocking, Editor. Nearly all of them had been trained in Christian institutions. It has to be remembered that, though nursing had always been part of the work of Christian religious orders, it was not until the Crimean war (1854-56) and Florence Nightingale that nursing became in England a respected, and indeed honoured, profession for educated women (p. 267).

²⁶An academic study concluded that the missions of the nineteenth century pioneered in all the beneficent activities recently set forward by the Communists. See *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, 1974, J.K. Fairbank, Editor, p. 2.

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it had, whether in personnel or finance, compared both with non-Anglican missions in China, and with Anglican missions in the Indian sub-continent and in Africa. More important, however, were the difficulties inherent in the situation faced by the Anglican mission. Overshadowing all else was the unfortunate way in which contact had eventually been made between China and the outside world, and the unsatisfactory form which this contact took. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the world was not yet a global village. The West was self-confident and outward-looking; China was equally self-confident but introverted and given to xenophobia. At least as far as the more educated sections of society were concerned, religion had always been less influential in Chinese life than in most countries. China had a strong sceptical tradition, and some of the argument used against the Christian Faith merely repeated what had been said centuries before in opposition to Buddhism.

An illustration of the above is the very cool reception given to Rabindranath Tagore, a Nobel prize winner then at the height of his fame, on a visit to Beijing in 1923, compared with the warm welcome given shortly before to sceptics such as John Dewey and Bertrand Russell. The shortness of time of the Anglican Mission--hardly more than seventy years--much of it during a time of great political unsettlement and turmoil, has also to be remembered.²⁷

However, it would be a complete misunderstanding to imagine that the Christian mission in China, of which Anglicanism was but a small part, was only an unwanted and forcible intrusion.²⁸ There were Chinese who tolerated and even welcomed the missionaries from the first. The Church began in response to an invitation from a local resident, or a petition from a deputation, in many if not most places. Sometimes land was given for a centre. Even official appreciation was not always lacking. One school was even started specifically for the children of officials, at their request. Many non-Christians wanted Christian schools for their children, often because of supposedly higher standards of responsibility, social concern, and discipline. Support for missions was also evidenced at the large Kuang Chi hospital in Hangzhou. Funds for the new buildings were given by local citizens, including many non-Christians, in gratitude for the work the hospital had done in past years. Likewise, a large sum of money for new buildings at St. Luke's Hospital in Shanghai was given by a rich Chinese, impressed by the care shown equally for the patients. His comment was "In China (non-Christian), we help our own relatives, but feel no obligation to help those outside our own immediate set." And a similar attitude can be seen in the following example. At the Church hospital in Datong a patient called Wang heard the doctor urging a nervous patient to stay in hospital a few days, and said to him, "You stay in--it's like heaven in there. The Chinese nurse is like your father, and the foreign nurse like your mother." Such incidents merely illustrate one side of the picture. In light of the prevalent corruption, casualness, and inefficiency, the problem of keeping the village dikes in order prompted one non-Christian to say that he could think of no hopeful plan unless the Church would undertake it.

To a considerable extent, the Christian missions introduced China to the West, and by this made something known of her great civilisation apart from silk and tea.²⁹ Many misconceptions were cleared away. As early

²⁷Buddhism was known in China at least by 67 A.D. Dr. Francis Wei pointed out in *The Spirit of Chinese Culture* that the first Chinese Buddhist monk was not ordained until after the third century A.D. (p.19). Buddhism in China for over two hundred years depended on foreign Buddhists for literature in Chinese, and this was exclusively translation. Real interpretation of Buddhism by Chinese Buddhists did not begin until about 300 A.D. Christianity had in effect been in China only a hundred and fifty years, so Christians should not be impatient.

²⁸More than one Chinese asked how long the Faith had been known in the West, and expressed astonishment that it had only now been made known in China, adding that he or his relatives had long been searching for the Truth which they had at last received.

²⁹An editorial in *The Times*, 5 September 1894, frankly stated that European knowledge of China derived almost wholly from the works of missionaries.

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as 1839 an agent in China wrote to the CMS that what was so often said about the degraded state of females in China was full of scandal and absurdity, and was refuted by everything he saw.³⁰ Even such a typical Victorian missionary as A.E. Moule in 1870 wrote that the prevalence of infanticide in China was exaggerated in England. It was by no means a common occurrence, and there existed in Ningbo an institution (non-Christian) specifically for its prevention.³¹ Morally, he wrote, China was superior to other nations without a Christian tradition. His brother, Bishop George Moule, translated into English two tracts opposing infanticide. The latter in 1894 told the missionary conferences of the Anglican Communion that the Chinese knew that, for all the proficiency of the West, it had not yet learnt what Confucius inculcated two thousand years ago. And that was, to found politics on justice rather than on selfishness. These two men were far from avant-garde in their day. When John Magee was ordained in the U.S.A. in 1911 the preacher pointed out that the missions appreciated all that is good in non-Christian religion. The Anglican mission aimed at fulfillment, not destruction, and accepted Confucius as the Moses of the Chinese.³²

It is admitted that as late as the middle of the twentieth century American expertise concerning Chinese culture and language was largely concentrated in the missionary community.³³ Something of the sort was at least partly the case in Britain. Foreign officials in China often had to depend on missionaries to interpret for them, especially in the early days. If the global village is to be condemned, and seen on balance as a misfortune, rather than as an immense enrichment for all, then indeed much blame can be laid on the missions; but, not otherwise. If Western Churchpeople, being effectively banned since 1951 from China, no longer have the knowledge and experience of it which they once had, it is emphatically not of the Church's choosing.

It is sometimes said that Anglicans in China failed in not preparing beforehand for the coming Communist challenge. It is of course easy to be wise after the event but it has to be remembered that the Communist takeover was not fated or determined beforehand. The Church could indeed have made more preparation, both practical, in dispensing with aid from outside China and cutting all links with the East, and theoretical, in answering the challenge of Communist theory. But, it would be certainly unfair to say that 1949 caught the Church unawares. It did catch the Church while it was still small and weak, for lack of time and other reasons. So when the challenge came, it was irresistible and bound to have been overwhelming, at least for the time.

A common opinion by people not well acquainted with the Church in China before the war in the 1930s is that the Three Self principles of a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Church were strongly advocated by Chinese Church leaders and "some" missionaries before 1949. This may well represent the belief of Chinese Christians who have grown up in the People's Republic, and know nothing else. But, it is this writer's opinion that it is most misleading in regard to the position before 1949. Chinese and Western Churchpeople were united in expressing support for the Three Self principles as their goal. They differed as to precisely when and where and how they could be completely implemented. And in this there were differences of opinion among both Chinese and Westerners. The differences were not along national lines. The picture presented of all Chinese leaders being in favour of (sudden and complete) cessation of help from the West, and all but a few Westerners being opposed to the longstanding Three Self principles, is utterly unrealistic and most unfair.

³⁰*Spirit of Missions*, 1839 Dec., p. 102.

³¹*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1870, pp. 59f.

³²Already discussed on page 73 of Gray's original typescript was that in the early days, Y.K. Yen, challenged as to whether he thought that Confucius was in heaven or hell, reasonably answered that he did not know.

³³*The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, J.K. Fairbank, Editor. See the article by J.A. Field on p. 44.

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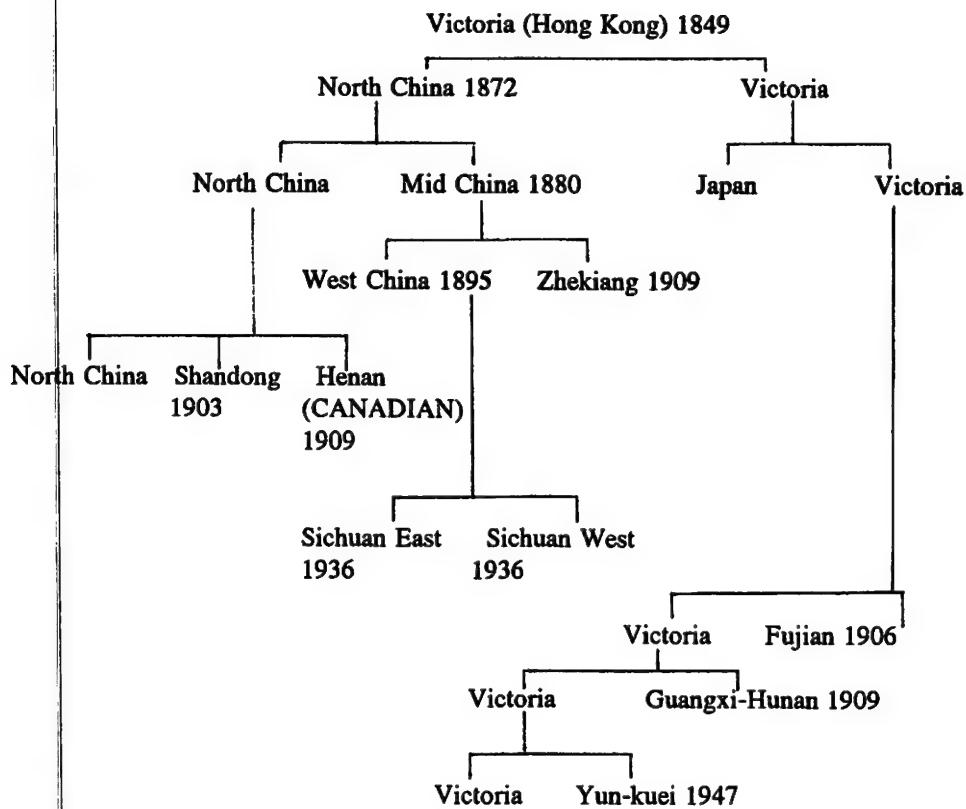
The Western missionary societies continually suggested reducing their financial support, and plans for this were in action. Possibly there should have been a sudden and abrupt moratorium on Western staff and financial help. But, there was no organised movement for this by Chinese Christian people: rather, there was an insistence that Western staff and help were still needed and welcome. The Zhonghua Shengong Hui was steadily working towards a completely self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating position, in spite of great setbacks due to the long Sino-Japanese war. Differences of opinion were found only in the pace at which this would be possible. Sudden implementation would have meant ending for the most part the Church's comparatively large and much needed medical and educational work, and full time staff for the Church itself. This was not generally desired by the Churchpeople.

The writer regretted at the time that the large American gift for Church reconstruction after the war was put at the disposal of the Committee in New York rather than the House of Bishops in China. He also felt that the remaining Western bishops could and should have resigned and been replaced by Chinese earlier than in fact happened. Bishop Tsen had been urging the presence of many more Chinese bishops before 1941, but he got very little response. Some Chinese were doubtful about this, fearing it might lead to a lessening of interest and help from the West. There were also practical difficulties, as illustrated by the following. In one significant diocese upon the resignation of its foreign bishop and the subsequent election of a Chinese bishop in the diocesan synod, a leading layman of the diocese said privately that he doubted whether the time had yet come for a Chinese bishop to replace the foreigner. There were similar problems elsewhere.

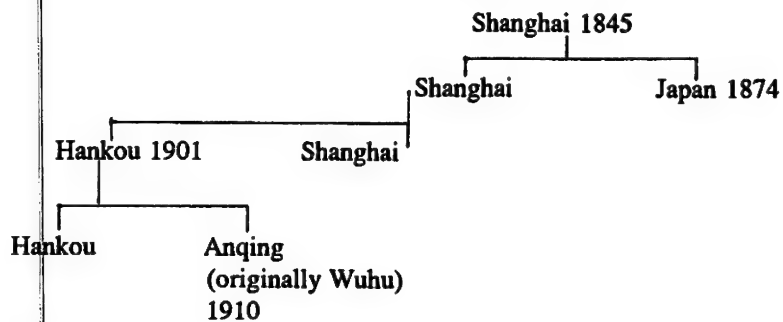
Lastly, it needs to be remembered that there were numerous Chinese independent Churches before 1949. The Little Flock under Ni Tsheng, the Jesus Family under Chin Tienying, and the True Jesus Church were some of them. These were, and always had been completely unrelated to Christians outside China, but they fared no better after 1949 than the mainline Churches.

APPENDIX A

Dioceses of British origin



Dioceses of American origin



Bishops of the Anglican Church in China

SHANGHAI:

Diocesan bishops:

1844 William Jones Boone
1865 Channing M. Williams
1877 Samuel I.J. Shereshevsky
1883 William Jones Boone, II
1891 Frederick R. Graves
1937 William P. Roberts
1946 Mao K'eh-tsung (K.T.)

Assistant bishop:

1941 Yü En-ssu (E.S.)

HONG KONG/ VICTORIA

Diocesan bishops:

1849 George Smith
1864 Charles Alford
1874 J.S. Burdon
1898 Joseph Charles Hoare
1907 G.H. Lander
1920 Charles Ridley Duppy
1932 R.O. Hall

Assistant bishops:

1935 Mo Shou-tseng (S.C. Mok)
1940 Tsu Yu-yü
Mo Yang-hsien
Huang K'uei-yüan (Quentin)

NORTH CHINA:

Diocesan bishops:

1872 William Armstrong Russell
1880 Charles Perry Scott
1913 Frank L. Norris
1940 T.A. Scott
1950 Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy)

ZHEJIANG

Diocesan bishops:

1880 George Evans Moule
1907 Herbert James Molony
1928 John Curtis
1950 Teng Shu-k'un (Kimber Den)
1955 Ting Kuang-hsun (K.H.)
Assistant bishop:
1918 Shen Tsai-sheng (T.S.)

WEST CHINA:

Diocesan bishops:

1895 William Wharton Cassels
1925 Howard Mowll
1933 John Holden
Assistant bishops:
1922 Howard Mowll
1929 Ku Ho-ling
1929 Song Ch'eng-chih

WEST SICHUAN:

Diocesan bishops:

1936 John Holden
1937 Song Ch'eng-chih
Assistant bishops:
1936 Song Ch'eng-chih
1943 H.A. Maxwell

EAST SICHUAN:

Diocesan bishops:

1936 Frank Houghton
1940 K.G. Bevan
Assistant bishop:
1936 Ku Ho-ling

HANKOU

Diocesan bishops:

1901 James Addison Ingle
1903 Logan H. Roots
1937 A.A. Gilman
1948 Tsang Hai-sung (Stephen)
Assistant bishop:
1922 A.A. Gilman

SHANDONG

Diocesan bishops:

1903 G.D. Iliff
1920 T.A. Scott
1940 J. Wellington
1950 Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy)
1955 Wang Shen-yin

FUJIAN

Diocesan bishops:

1906 Horace McCartney Eyre Price
1918 John Hind
1940 C.B.R. Sargent
1943 Chang Kuang-hsü (Michael)
Assistant bishops:
1927 Ch'en Yün-en (K.O. Ding)
1938 C.B.R. Sargent
1955 Hsieh Ping-hsi (Moses)
1955 Liu Yü-t'sang

Bishops of the Anglican Church in China

GUANGXI-HUNAN

Diocesan bishops:

1909 William Banister

1924 John Holden

1933 P. Stevens

1950 Hsü Ki-song (Addison)

Assistant bishop:

ca. 1938 Hsü Ki-song (Addison)

HENAN

Diocesan bishops:

1909 William Charles White

1934 Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel)

Assistant bishops:

1928 Tsen Ho-p'u (Lindel)

1942 T'seng Yu-shan (Francis)

1952 Tsen Chien-yeh

ANQING

Diocesan bishops:

1910 Daniel T. Huntington

1940 Lloyd R. Craighill

1950 Ch'en Chien-tsen (Robin)

Assistant bishop:

Ch'en Chien-tsen (Robin)

SHAANXI

Diocesan bishops:

1934 Shen Tzū-kao (T.K.)

1947 Liu Yao-ch'ang (Newton)

YUNNAN-GUIZHOU

Diocesan bishop:

1947 Huang K'uei-yüan (Quentin)

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